Labour Monthly

EDITOR R. PALME DUTT

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

INDIA

by

D. N. PRITT

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Notes of the Month

The Choice Before Us by R.P.D.

and Articles by

D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

DAN CHATER, M.P.

J. R. CAMPBELL

LEN POWELL

I. RENNAP

L. MORGAN

R. PETERS

Book Reviews by

ISABEL BROWN

PROFESSOR GEORGE THOMSON

JOHN NICHOLS

APRIL 1942 VOL. 24 No. 4

6D

Editorial and Publishing Offices: 134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3 Telephone: FIN. 5135

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEOPLE OF DORSET!

WHY ARE there no Discussion Groups in your county? With your small towns and numerous villages, where political activity and organisation of the normal kind are often lacking, you should be developing, like Devon, say. Yours is a county of great traditions and fine, progressive people. Much of this island's history from very earliest times has been enacted on your soil. Will you not play your part in the unfolding history of our own day? The beginnings of political action lie in discussion. Form your Discussion Groups! We will help you.

LABOUR MONTHLY
DISCUSSION GROUPS

(Places in **BOLD TYPE** are new groups. Places in *italics* are projected groups)
(PLEASE SEND STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE FOR PARTICULARS)

LONDON AREA

Acton, **BETHNAL GREEN**, *Chelsea*, Chiswick, Clapham, Clapton, East Ham, Edmonton, Finchley, Forest Gate, Fulham, Golders Green, Greenwich, Hampstead, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Hanwell, Highgate, Holborn, Lambeth, Leyton, Marylebone, North Kensington, Palmers Green, Putney, South Kensington, Southwark, Walthamstow, Wandsworth, Wembley, Westminster, Willesden, Winchmore Hill.

HOME COUNTIES

Addington, Amersham, *Ashford* (*Kent*), Ashtead, Banstead, Barking, Beaconsfield, Beckenham, Bishops Stortford, Braintree, Bromley (Kent), Buckhurst Hill, Bushey, Bush Hill Park, **CAMBRIDGE**, Caterham, *Cheam*, Chelmsford, Chingford, Claygate and Esher, Croxley Green, *Dartford*, Didcot, Dunstable, Edgware, Enfield, Epsom, Goring-on-Thames, Gravesend, Grays, Guildford, Hanworth and Feltham, Harpenden, Harrow, Hertford, Hatfield, Hayes (Middlesex), Hemel Hempstead, Heston, Hillingdon, Hitchin, Hornchurch, Ilford, Kenton, Letchworth, Maidenhead, North Harrow and Rayners Lane, Northolt, Orpington, Pinner, *Pitsea*, Princes Risborough, Ruislip, St. Albans, *Sevenoaks*, Slough, *Staines*, Sunbury-on-Thames, Twickenham, Upminster, Wallingford, Wallington, Waltham Cross, Watford, Welling, Windsor and Eton, Woodford.

PROVINCES

Abercynon, Aberdeen, Abertillery, **ALFRETON and RIPLEY**, **ALDERSHOT**, Altrincham, Andover, Ayr, Bacup, Barnstaple, Barrow-in-Furness, Basingstoke, Bath, Batley, Biddulph, Birkenhead, Blackpool, Blyth, Bournemouth, Bowhill, Bridgend, Bristol, Brynmawr, Buckhaven, Burry Port, Bury, Cardiff, Cardigan, Carlisle, **CASTLE DOUGLAS**, Cheadle, Cheltenham, Chester, Chippenham, Cirencester, Clevedon, East Grinstead, Edinburgh, Exeter, Farnborough (Hants), Farnham, Fawley, Fleetwood, *Folkestone*, Glasgow, Gloucester, Grantham, Greenock, Guiseley, Halifax, Heanor, **HEBBURN**, Hereford, Horsham, Hyde, *Inverurie*, Kendall, Kidderminster, Leyland, Liverpool, Llanelly, *Looe*, Luton, Macclesfield, Maidstone, Maldon (Essex), Manchester, Mansfield, Marple, Merseyside, Middlesbrough, **MILNGARVIE**, Minehead, Nantwich, Neath, Nelson, Netley, Newark, New Mills, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newcastle (Staffs), Newton, Northallerton, Nuneaton, Paisley, Penrith, Perth, Peterborough, *Petersfield*, **PLYMPTON**, Portchester, Port Talbot, Preston, Rawtenstall, Reading, Renfrew, Renton, Rhondda, Ringwood, Rugby, *Rushden*, Ryton, St. Helens, Salisbury, Saltcoats, Scunthorpe, Sedgley, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, Skipton, Somerton, **SPEKE**, Stafford, Stockport, Stoke-on-Trent, *Stornoway*, Stourbridge, Stroud, Sunderland, Swindon, Talgarth, Tonypandy, Tonyrefail, Tunbridge Wells, Walsall, Wareham, Warrington, Warwick, Wednesbury, Westbury, Weston-super-Mare, Winchester, Wirral, Wolverhampton, Woodbridge, Worcester, Worksop, Worthing, Wrexham, Yarmouth, Yeadon, Yeovil.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES OF THE MONTH

On the Eve of Decisive Battles—The Gravest Turning Point—Stalin's Order of the Day—Demands for Action—Impatience with Passivity—Strategy for Victory—Questioning and Self-Criticism — Passing of Empire — Danger of Demoralisation—What Must Be Done—The Second Front—Anglo-Soviet Collaboration—Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States—War and Post-War—Labour Party and Reconstruction—Indian Freedom—Production Needs—We Must Not Fail.

TIME is short. The War Cabinet was at last reconstructed on February 19, four days after of the fall of Singapore. But there is no evidence yet of that basic recasting of strategy which the situation requires and which was the purpose and meaning of the demand for Government reconstruction. The decisive character of the war in the spring and summer of this year is now universally recognised. The old illusions of the possibility of placid waiting for a twelvemonth have been shattered by the hammer-blows of events. But in all the shocked awakening that has followed, the demands for action and a change of policy, is there yet any clear and firm strategy being put forward and acted on by those in command in this country?

It is manifest to all that in these months now opening we are entering into the greatest conflicts in human history which will determine the future of the world. The speed of dissolution of the old colonial empire in Eastern Asia before the Japanese advance, and the terrific intensity of the battles in the midst of winter on the Eastern European front, are only the prelude of the scale of what is before us. Where do we stand in these coming battles? What is our policy? The Soviet answer is clear. Is the answer of our Government clear? Is there yet that sure leadership of strategy, policy and action which can alone mobilise the people and win the way to victory? The answer to this question will decide the future. The key position of responsibility for the joint action of the alliance now rests in this country.

WHAT is the perspective that is held out before the people of this country? Is it still the perspective of 1943, or has that been seriously replaced by the perspective of 1942, or is it a drifting compromise of uncertainty and conflicting cross-currents between the two? Is it passivity or action? Defensive waiting for the enemy's next attack, or the strategy of the initiative and the offensive? Alliance of free peoples for the victory of freedom, or clinging still to those old forms of Empire which have brought already so grim a Nemesis? Collaboration with our full strength in that combined assault which can most

Vol. XXIV. No. 4. **CONTENTS FOR APRIL** April, 1942

	Page
Notes of the Month—	
The Choice Before Us by R. P. D.	97
India by D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.	105
The Problem of Labour Unity by DAN CHATER, M.P.	108
Soldiers' Pay and Workers' Wages by J. R. CAMPBELL	110
For a Real Ministry of Production by LEN POWELL	112
The Middle East and the Anti-Hitler Front by I. RENNAP	113
The Liquidation of the Small Business Man by L. MORGAN	117
A.R.P. and the National Front by R. PETERS	119
Documents of the Month—	
Stalin's Order of the Day	120
Summary of the Production Memorandum	123
Germans Call for Revolt	125
Book Reviews—	
Mother Bloor's Autobiography by ISABEL BROWN	127
The Flight from Reality by PROF. GEORGE THOMSON	128
Production—in Britain and U.S.S.R. by JOHN NICHOLS	128

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speedily defeat Fascism, or the old paralysed suicidal ca' canny waiting to garner the harvest of victory won by others, while we peacefully plan the blue-prints of the post-war world and meanwhile register day by day the fall of bastion after bastion of the strength of this country? It is terrible that at this moment of history, when the decisive battles are already engaged, when all the millions of the Soviet Union and of the Nazi forces are being thrown into the field, while the millions of our armed forces still remain inactive, when the tocsin is sounding for the peoples of the world, when everything calls for action, such elementary questions of policy should still need to be put. But public opinion must be awakened to the gravity of the issues.

WE stand at the gravest turning point of the war and of the world situation since June, 1941. Behind the smokescreen of secrecy decisions are being taken which will govern the future. The whole development of the relations of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States; the key question of combined military action for the destruction of Fascism; the consequent shaping of the post-war world whose character will be determined by present action in the present conflict; all the issues governing the future of the people of this country and of all the five hundred millions of the peoples of the old dissolving Empire: all these are now brought to the anvil of decision.

STALIN'S Order of the Day on February 23 sounded a rallying call, but also a note of warning, for the peoples of all countries, and not least for the people of this country. It sounded a rallying call with its confidence in victory over Hitler, and in the weakening of the Nazi armies through their pounding at the hands of the Red Army. But it sounded a warning note with its emphasis on the still formidable strength of the enemy, and with its reminder that Hitler's armies were fighting with the direct support of troops of other States, while the Red Army had so far no such support. It sounded the trumpet call of confidence in certain victory, but also a warning note to reactionary anti-Soviet speculators, when it declared, with specific reference by name to all the invaded Soviet territories, whether the Crimea, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia or Karelia, that the Red banners will fly again over all the territories of the Soviet Union. It proclaimed in plain and firm language the aims of all the peoples in the war, but no less plainly warned off the reactionary jackals prowling in the wake of the people's armies, when it insisted that the war aim of the Red Army is directed against the Fascist aggressors, not against the German people, and specifically repudiated the racial war aims of those reactionaries who would seek to prolong the war or exploit the victory for anti-popular aims.

THE outlook expressed in this Order of the Day will receive a warm echo from the overwhelming majority of people in this country. It corresponds to the outlook of common-sense democratic opinion in all the countries in the war. But we have still to see that the expressions of our own Government and of official propaganda correspond to this outlook, and still more that the action corresponds to this strategy. Here in this country is the key position of responsibility for the common understanding, common action and common victory of the world alliance. The fullest political, diplomatic and military collaboration is the essential condition for such joint victory. This full collaboration is not yet established. Herein lies the gravity of the present position. The achievement of this full collaboration will require prompt decisions and prompt action.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNDOUBTEDLY there has been a measure of partial awakening from the old Anglo-American dreams of hibernation till 1943, under the shock of the blows of the war in the first months of 1942. The call for a radical change of strategy, for action, for the offensive, is now widespread in Britain and the United States. The sense that passivity in 1942 may mean, not the gradual accumulation of strength for certain victory in 1943 or later, but the possibility of handing over victory to the enemy in 1942, is widely expressed. Warnings against the possibility of losing the war, warnings against a defensive strategy, are sounded from all sides. "It was a big mistake the Allied democracies were making," declared Dr. Van Mook, Lieutenant-Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, to the press on February 18, "in thinking in terms of defence, which involved the enemy coming down to get them rather than going out to fight the enemy. A policy of constantly retiring to prepared positions could lead to a position in which the Allies might lose the war."

WHAT is wrong, asked the *Observer* on February 15, with the general conduct of the war? "If we do not find the answer to that question before it is too late, we shall lose the war." "The war can be lost," wrote the Editor of the *Nineteenth Century and After* in March, and added the peculiar "danger" from the point of view of that journal that it might be won by the action of Britain's Allies without Britain emerging as the principal victor to govern the settlement. The strategic disasters, declared Commander Bower, M.P., on March 13, "bid fair to lose us the war before the great human and material resources we have gained can be brought into play." "If the Allies adhered to a defensive policy," proclaimed the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Wellington Koo, on February 27, "in all sectors until an accumulation of overwhelming strength was achieved for a general counter-offensive, there was the disadvantage of having the present strength unnecessarily dispersed. The result was that, while part of the supplies and forces were thus immobilised in some sectors not immediately in danger, no effective resistance could be offered in others under attack because of inadequate reinforcements."

ESPECIALLY in the United States this impatience with the policies of defensive passivity has been marked. President Roosevelt's letter to Mr. Donald Nelson, Chairman of the War Production Board, at the beginning of March, stressing "the supreme importance of war production this crucial spring," struck the note. In Washington, according to the press reports :—

> Officials have turned from the thesis which Mr. Churchill laid down in Washington that the United Nations could not take the initiative till 1943. Mr. Stimson declared that the United States would seize every opportunity for attack and utilise every opportunity for surprise. Mr. Donald Nelson, the production chief, was just as emphatic that the time for action is now. Heralding a spring production drive, he said the country must stop thinking of what can be done to the enemy in 1943, and start thinking about what it was going to do to him this spring. (Washington correspondent of the *Observer*, March 1.)

Similarly the letter of General George Marshall, United States Army Chief of Staff, was read to the Senate on March 2 :

> The time has come when we must proceed with the business of carrying the war to the enemy. We must not permit the greater portion of our armed forces and our valuable material to be immobilised in the United States.

This pregnant statement had obviously its sharp point also for Britain.

ECHOING this lead from the United States, the *Times* proclaimed in its editorial of March 2, under the title "This Crucial Spring":—

> Mr. Nelson has shown himself keenly aware that the war will be won not by turning out immense quantities of munitions in 1943, necessary as such plans are, but by what can be put into the fight now and during the next few months. . . . The American people have one

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overmastering desire—to hit back at the enemy as hard as possible and as soon as possible. They do not want to think in terms of 1943. If the Allies take care of 1942, 1943 will take care of itself.

Those words are important. But this lead has not yet been given by the Government of this country.

MERE impatience with passivity, however, and calls in general for action and for an offensive policy are not enough. Calls in the air are no substitute for a clear and firm strategy. There is still an element of stunned awakening, bewildered impotence and desperate searchings for a policy, under the blows of the events of the past three months, without yet drawing the lesson and seeing the path forward, and with consequent confusion in practical action. The effect of loss of the Empire (for it is only necessary to review the position in each of the Dominions, with the shifting orientation, alongside the loss of the colonial empire in the Far East and the threatened position in India, to see how rapidly the development is moving), of which the anti-Fascists years ago gave warning as the inevitable future consequence of the suicidal policy being pursued, has struck a heavy blow at the self-confidence of the ruling class in this country. The danger is that this blow should lead, not to swift awakening and practical action by the people of this country, but to paralysis and demoralisation under a ruling class which has lost its bearings in a swiftly moving world.

THERE is deep questioning and self-criticism of a kind which has not been seen since the rise of this country to world power. The dispatch of the *Times* correspondent on the causes of the fall of Singapore, which was published on February 18, was a more damning exposure of the rottenness of the whole colonial regime than has ever been made by any Socialist critic. On this dispatch the *Economist* wrote on February 21 :—

The dispatch from Batavia in Tuesday's *Times* was the most terrifying document that has appeared in print for many years. "Soft" troops, unenterprising commanders, outwitted strategists, an incompetent administration, an apathetic native population—these are not the signs of a gallant army betrayed only by bad luck ; they sound uncomfortably like the dissolution of an Empire.

The *Times* editorial on "Men and Methods" on February 21 found the "radical cause" of British weakness in the fact that the century-old world monopoly enjoyed by Britain, the "position of unparalleled greatness and prosperity" for a hundred years before 1914, and the victory in the war of 1914–18 had

bred a blind and deep-seated belief, all the stronger for being rooted in instinct and rarely explicit in words, that the same methods which had hitherto produced these satisfactory results could be relied on to produce the same results n the future. Hence the unreasoned and almost unconscious resistance to innovation which has dominated national policy, domestic and international, military and economic, in an era of world-wide change.

History is indeed drumming dialectics into the heads even of those who once believed themselves the lords of creation.

BUT the danger of demoralisation and bankruptcy, in place of practical awakening, is acute. In every sphere, not only of the main strategy and conduct of the war, but of production and economic organisation, of administration, of colonial policy, of diplomacy, of political leadership, delay and hesitancy, order and counter-order, compromise and half-measures weaken confidence. Action follows on the heels of the event in place of preceding it. On February 15 Singapore fell. On February 19 the War Cabinet was at last reconstructed, and some of the Munichites thrown out, after the insistent public demand had been so long resisted for many precious months. On February 23 Stalin's Order of the Day drew public attention to the fact that the Red Army was fighting alone against Hitler and his satellite armies. On

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

February 27 took place the first diversion in France with the Commando raid on Bruneval, followed by the bombing of the Renault works on March 3. On March 8 Rangoon fell, bringing the enemy to the gates of India. On March 11 the Cripps Mission to India to endeavour to reach a political settlement with the Indian people was announced. This is indeed action at the twelfth hour.

WHAT is needed? It is not enough to call in general for action, for the spirit of the initiative, for attack, for the offensive. It is necessary to have a consistent and defined strategy, and to mobilise the will and energy of the people behind it. At present there is confusion, even in the proclamation of a more active policy. The Air Ministry proclaims that the policy of the offensive in 1942 will be pursued by the method of large-scale bombing, even though the inadequacy of this as a sole weapon has been abundantly demonstrated. Another school calls for the diversion of supplies and the main concentration to the Far East; and this school, revealing itself as the new campaign of the old Isolationists, is especially vocal in American controversy. As against this, both President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill have made abundantly clear that the decisive sphere of the world war is and must be on the Continent of Europe for the defeat of Hitler, whose defeat is the indispensable condition of success against the remaining elements of Axis power. But the logical conclusion of this strategic line, the necessity of the Second Front on the Continent of Europe, not at some remote future date, but in the period immediately now opening, when the maximum forces are being thrown into the field on both sides in Eastern Europe, is not yet accepted.

THE speech of the Minister of Pensions at Stafford on February 16, declaring that "we had to create a war front in another part of Europe to relieve Russia, because pressure would come again with the spring," was widely noted as a possible "feeler" of the Government in this direction. But that "feeler," if such it was and not an accidental example of the incoherence of ministerial expression, has not been followed up by any similar expression of any responsible Government Minister. Even in this belated and isolated expression there was no more than an echo of the situation of last autumn, the old conception of the Second Front to "relieve pressure" against an offensive always assumed to be in Hitler's hands, not the new conception of the active response to the Soviet winter offensive. There is no sign yet of response to or even awareness of the existence of the repeatedly proclaimed Soviet aim of the combined offensive in Europe for victory in 1942. At the most, casual reference may sometimes be found in semi-official comment, as if it were an observation about another planet, that the Soviet leaders hope for victory in 1942, without any suggestion of awareness of our own role or possible participation in the common task.

NEVERTHELESS, the pressure of the demand for the Second Front in Europe is enormously growing. The very definite statements in the speeches of Litvinov at Washington on February 26 ("only by simultaneous offensives on two or more fronts, separated by long distances, can Hitler's armed forces be disposed of . . . we hear much about the common efforts of the united nations, but common efforts which do not include common fighting may not be sufficient . . . forces which would not be used on one front should not be kept idle and inactive but should be sent where they could be used"); of General Sikorski on the same date ("the German offensive of 1942 should be confronted at the hour of its climax by the allied counter-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offensive, both on the Eastern and Western Fronts"); or of the Chinese Ambassador in London on February 27, are evidence of this increasingly open demand also in official expression.

NO less significant is the growth of the demand in the press, as the critical months of the spring offensives open. This demand is voiced, not only in the organs of the left, but in the organs of the right. The *Times* editorial of March 7 on "Britain, Russia and America," gave warning that "there is beyond doubt a growing inclination among the Soviet leaders to feel that Russia has been called upon, with indirect and insufficient help from her allies, to bear the main brunt of Hitler's assault; anything calculated to foster the belief, however ill-founded, that the allied countries are indifferent to Russian requirements and Russian aims, would be disastrous"; and insisted that Britain must take account of what "Russia asks from her allies in return for the sacrifices accepted by her own people —sacrifices of an austerity not yet dreamed of by any English-speaking country—and for the mighty contribution which she has made and is making to the cause of the united nations."

The *Daily Mail* of March 7 bluntly declared that the Russian offensive must be supplemented "by a large-scale offensive by Britain and America":—

> That means the creation of a Western Front. In other words, we must bring into being, in conjunction with Russia, a gigantic pincers movement which will crush the life out of Germany. This is the only way to victory. It is a hard way, but anyone who still imagines that there is an easy way is beyond hope.

The question of the Second Front in Western Europe, which the Communist Party has consistently held to the forefront as the key to victory, is now more and more widely recognised as the crucial question of the world war and the decisive political issue in this country.

WITH the unification of strategy must go closer allied political co-ordination. The hesitancy through all these months to recognise the elementary aim of the recovery of the Soviet territories invaded by Hitler has done harm. Once again the question of the future of the Baltic peoples, who were originally torn from their unity with the Russian Revolution and with the Soviet Union by military force, first of German imperialism, and then of the Entente, has been used as a pretext to injure the paramount necessity of British-Soviet collaboration. It is understood that the British Government has at last recognised in principle this aim of the restoration of the 1941 frontiers, subject to approval by the United States. Here the *Times*, in the editorial already quoted on "Britain, Russia and America," has justly stated that "the interest of the United States in the European Continent is clearly less direct and intimate than that of Great Britain"; that Britain, "though a member of the community of English-speaking nations, cannot regard her relations with Europe solely in the light of the interests which she shares with other members of that community; it is rather her function to interpret those relations to them and to secure their understanding and sympathy for her European policy"; and that "the ultimate responsibility for a decision vital to British foreign policy must rest with the British Government." As certain features of the very far-reaching British-American Trade Agreement of February 23 and the accompanying discussions have already indicated, this question of the independence of British policy is likely to become of increasing importance in the near future. The independence of British policy is closely bound up with the strengthening of British-Soviet collaboration.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE question of the post-war order, about which there is so much loose discussion to-day, cannot be separated from the governing questions of action and participation in the war. From the expression of some sections of opinion in this country to-day, it might be imagined that a new "division of labour" had been discovered, by which the Soviet people are allocated the task of doing the fighting and winning the victory, after which the repositories of superior political wisdom in Britain and the United States, having so abundantly shown their special talents and organising ability in the conduct of the war, will proceed to settle post-war Europe. The sooner this kind of lunacy is cleared out of the way, the better for the future. About this type of "division of labour," the Soviet people, the European peoples, and, we may add, the British and American peoples will have a different opinion of what is involved in the real joint effort to win the war and the continuance of joint effort and collaboration in the peace. Only those who play their part in the winning of the war will have any say in the making of the peace.

MUCH of this post-war speculation of certain sections in this country to-day, which so characteristically arises at this most intense and critical moment of the conflict, and is only the morbid counterpart of the passivity in action, reflects in fact the attempt to take refuge from the arduous tasks of the actual struggle. A glaring example of this tendency is to be found in the issue at this moment of the Labour Party Interim Report on "The Old World and the New Society," which consumes paper in presenting once again the faded trappings of every reconstruction report that has been issued from that ancient machine of Fabian day-dreaming at regular intervals for a quarter of a century, including in the last war, as if nothing were happening in the real world, with complete obliviousness to the responsibility of leadership in the vital issues of the actual struggle, whether with relation to the Second Front, united strategy, production or any other living issue, our ability to respond to which will determine the future.

THE political agreement which needs to be reached between Britain and the Soviet Union and the nations engaged in the united war effort is bound up with common action in the war. Stalin's Order of the Day has stated with sufficient clearness the immediate task and the democratic outlook in relation to the future of Germany. Our immediate task is to defeat German Fascist aggression, bringing with it the liberation of the nations invaded and enslaved by the Nazi conquerors. "It is very likely that the war for the liberation of our Soviet land will result in the ousting or destruction of Hitler's clique. We would welcome such an outcome." But "the German people and the German state remain." The future of German political forms can only be determined by the German people, and not by foreign imposition. There can be no question of imposing a Communist Germany against the will of the German people. Nor, it may be useful to add here, must there be any question of imposing a capitalist Germany against the will of the German people.

THIS question of the freedom of the peoples has now become of first-class importance in relation to the colonial peoples and the war. The crucial importance of Indian freedom for the whole future of the war in the Far East is now at last universally recognised. The Cripps Mission is the first official expression of this recognition, even though at the twelfth hour and under the whip of necessity. The article of D. N. Pritt in the present number discusses the issues involved. It is not possible to judge the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

character of the Government's formula until it is disclosed. But it is imperative that a political settlement should be reached, and it can be reached. It can be reached, despite all difficulties, on the basis of the common interest in the struggle against Fascism. But it can only be reached by abandoning the old obstructionist make-believe and incitement to impossibilist vetoes, previously encouraged as the pretext for doing nothing; by plainly recognising the principle of Indian independence and the role and power of the mighty Indian national movement as the one force capable of mobilising and uniting and leading the Indian nation; and by establishing, in agreement with it, a representative National Government drawing in all forces in Indian life prepared to play their part in the common struggle, and excluding only those who voluntarily exclude themselves from the united national effort.

IN the vital sphere of production a Minister of Production, after being granted and whisked away again, has now been restored again. But it is still a Minister of Production without a Ministry. The White Paper has been withdrawn, and a wide general statement of powers announced. But, although this step is a beginning, the change is so far more formal than real. It is necessary to repeat that the appointment of an individual as a Minister of Production is no more in itself a substitute for a unified organisation of production than the appointment of a Minister of Air is a substitute for building an Air Force. The conception appears to persist that the demand for a Minister of Production was the demand for an economic superman to bring order out of chaos by the magic of his personality. There can be no such economic superman—least of all if he happens to be one of the principal former representatives of Anglo-Nazi capitalist collaboration and up to the outbreak of war a Director of the German Metallgesellschaft. The real question is the question of the establishment of an effective unified organisation of control, overriding the present self-rule of the monopolies, and building up through the Regional Boards its direct organisation of war production and network of direct contact through the Production Committees. The proposals put forward by the Communist Party on production still hold the field, and the campaign for them requires to be pressed.

A NEW effort and a new approach is needed in every sphere, in strategy and the conduct of the war, in administration, in political leadership and the mobilisation of the people, in order to meet the urgent tasks of the present decisive struggle now opening. It is necessary to state plainly the main strategic aim of the defeat of Hitler by combined offensive action with the Soviet Union for victory this year. Every measure in production, training, equipment, economic and political organisation needs to be subordinated to this central aim. The people will respond to such plain leadership, and will fulfil and more than fulfil every measure that is required. But there is no time to be lost. The decisive conflicts of the world war are now before us. We cannot afford to fail.

R. P. D.

March 15, 1942.

VOLUNTARY HELP is much needed at *Labour Monthly* office by sympathisers able to give a few hours regularly each week. Expenses will be refunded. Please communicate with The Manager.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

India

by D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

THE imminent danger of a Japanese invasion of India, coupled with the revelations of the Malaya-Singapore campaign as to the military difficulties of defending territory inhabited by an indifferent—let alone a hostile—population, has naturally enough done far more than years of propaganda to bring the problem of India near to solution. The British Government, and the general public—which has never paid enough attention to India—have now been roused to understand both the truth and the cruel urgency of what Socialists have long been telling them: that if we are to face and defeat the onward march of Fascism we must satisfy the national demands of the Indian people, and enlist them as active allies on our side.

We have not in reality a choice between recognising full Indian independence or clinging to the old promise of "Dominion status after the war"; the only alternative is between the acknowledgment of Indian independence or the loss of India to Japan. The land of India must, in short, go to the people of India, or be conquered by the Japanese; we can only fight in India if we do so in alliance and co-operation with the Indian people.

It is good news, accordingly, even with the great military dangers arising out of the delay involved, that Sir Stafford Cripps has been sent to India, with the authority of his membership of the War Cabinet, to discuss with the various interests there a scheme which the War Cabinet has agreed on but not published. This is of course only the beginning and not the end of the problem. Writing before the middle of March, one can only guess that the negotiations, notwithstanding the great urgency of the position, will last some time; and it is more than ever necessary that progressive public opinion shall be both awakened and informed, so that the Government may be encouraged and if necessary driven to a satisfactory settlement, and reactionary elements may be prevented from wrecking the negotiations by futile efforts to cling to what they have in fact already lost.

We cannot for some time know or guess very much of the terms which the Government proposes to offer to India in our name, and the danger must always be present that reactionary elements may force it to offer too little; but there is at present some general optimism as to the prospects of agreement, founded perhaps on a feeling that rulers really do not continue to fiddle when the fumes of burning cities are catching in their nostrils. We cannot, however, afford illusions or complacency, and an examination of the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on March 11 is not altogether reassuring. It lacked warmth, and the frank admission that this important new step had been brought about by anxiety over the Japanese advance, and not by any change of heart or feeling of justice, was honest rather than tactful. It was unfortunate, too, that Mr. Churchill based himself on the Government statement of August, 1940, which was really nothing more than the old promise of "Dominion status after the war," and represented to most Indians not an advance but a great disappointment. Mr. Churchill also emphasised somewhat strongly the old bogy of "minorities," and thus increased the suspicion that the offer may not go far enough to satisfy Indian national opinion, and may give altogether undue importance to such views as those of the Moslem League, which is discussed below. There may, however, be tactical reasons for the tone of the statement, so that the substance of the offer may prove after all to be better than that tone would imply.

The feature that causes most anxiety is the secrecy as to the terms of the offer. There is a good deal of plausibility in the reason advanced for this, to wit, that the public announcement of the terms now might provoke fierce disputes in India, and thus prejudice the chances of acceptance of a settlement to which all sections might be willing to agree if they had the opportunity for private consideration before having to take any standpoint in public. But it remains true that the whole transaction, perhaps the most important in our history, is removed for an indefinite time from the democratic control of public opinion and of Parliament, and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

indeed that this control may not be brought to bear until the matter is virtually settled for better or worse. And one thing at any rate is plain, that at every stage of this war public opinion has been far healthier, more courageous, and more progressive, than the Government of the day.

But, nevertheless, whatever the dangers, disadvantages, or suspicions, the new step is a great advance, and should be welcomed and encouraged. It must also be carefully watched. Every progressive element in the country should follow events very closely. The disastrous indifference which the mass of the public—even many of those interested in home and European politics—has hitherto displayed to the whole problem of India, an indifference which has enabled reactionaries to have their disastrous way so long, is now beginning to disappear, and we must work hard to hasten this process, and to overcome the immense obstacles which censorship, propaganda and plain misrepresentation present to those who seek to form a correct judgment. Secrecy to-day does not inevitably mean that the terms will be kept secret until it is too late for public opinion to exercise a decisive influence on the course of events, and at any moment, and probably at many moments, powerful and well-informed pressure will be needed to keep the Government along the right path, and to hold the reactionary elements at bay.

The cardinal question as to whether Indian independence should be recognised scarcely admits of argument. Every nation is entitled to its independence, and that the Indian people have a definite national sentiment and cohesion which constitutes them a nation has been tacitly assumed in many official declarations; it is indeed involved in the proposal for Dominion status. The time has gone by when a nation demanding its independence, the right to determine its own destiny, can be called upon to "qualify" for such elementary rights by demonstrating its good conduct; but it is nevertheless worth recalling—if only as an indication of the manner in which they will fight as independent people if the Japanese invade their country—that the Indians have a very fine record of anti-Fascist activity. They warmly supported the Chinese in their resistance to Japanese aggression, when too many of our statesmen were condoning that aggression and reinforcing it by continuing to supply Japan with war material; they were equally strong in their support of Abyssinia in its fight against Italian aggressors; and when they saw in Spain a people who were neither Asiatic nor "coloured" equally exposed to the savage attacks of Spanish, German and Italian Fascists, it was soon seen from their support of this cause too that their anti-Fascism was not limited by any question of locality or colour. They need indeed fear comparison with no European people in the clarity and sincerity of their attitude to Fascism; and it is noteworthy that Mr. Bose, who now forms so prominent a feature of Axis propaganda, was expelled from the Congress party before the outbreak of war in September, 1939. Throughout the present war, too, the Indian people through Congress have repeatedly declared their anti-Fascist attitude with great firmness.

What can be said of the lines on which a settlement should be reached? Firstly, that the truest and broadest basis, far better than the mere recognition and righting of a wrong, is that of our vital common interest in a common struggle. Such an interest we have in full measure. We each desire the utter destruction of Fascism and Fascist power; and we each know that we cannot in the short run keep the Japanese out of India or in the long run defeat Fascism, unless we rally the Indian people to that fight by the recognition of their independence.

On the basis of that great common interest, it should certainly not be impossible to reach a settlement by recognition of the principle of independence and the establishment of a provisional National Government with full powers, representative of all interests in India, and responsible for the time being to the existing Legislative Assembly. It is, of course, necessary to include a definite agreement as to collaboration in the war, but that can present no difficulty in the light of the clear and repeated declarations of Indian readiness to take part in the war *as a free people.*

The settlement must, of course, involve a mass of complex detail which will have to be dealt with in its place, without delay; but there are no insuperable difficulties. One obstacle which is advanced

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a formidable one by the opponents of freedom is that of the alleged widespread and irreconcilable communal or religious conflict between Moslems and Hindus. They suggest that it is difficult if not impossible to steer one's way between the dangers of either a powerful Moslem minority in effect imposing an indefinite veto on the wishes of the Hindu majority, or of a majority decision being resisted by a minority with such vigour as to destroy internal harmony and even to render the government of the country impossible. The picture is painted of the Moslem League and the Congress facing one another, the former representing the whole Moslem community of eighty millions, and the latter representing only the Hindus, each of these standing firmly for a point of view not only fundamentally opposed to but permanently irreconcilable with that of the other.

This picture has very little reality. There is no general or insoluble antagonism between Moslems and Hindus ; they co-operate peacefully enough in the administrations of the Indian states, and in the Trade Unions in British India. They have the same poverty, the same landlords, moneylenders and tax collectors.

Nor has the Moslem League any right to speak for the Moslems. It does not publish the figures of its membership, but it polled less than 5 per cent. of the over 7,000,000 Moslem votes cast in the elections of 1937. The Momins, who constitute over half the Moslems of India, repudiate it, as do the Shiah community, themselves 20,000,000 in number, not all of whom are already counted in the Momins; whilst the North-Western Frontier Province, which is strongly Moslem, is a "Congress" province. There are probably more Moslems in the Congress than in the Moslem League ; its chairman is a Moslem, and the Moslem Premiers of Bengal and Sind have recently declared that they are ready for settlement on similar lines to those of the Congress. The Moslem League is in its origin a creation of past British Governments, and its vigorous demands for such impracticable arrangements as a separate independent Moslem state (with a large Hindu minority, of course) under the name of Pakistan are probably a great embarrassment even to those reactionary elements who desire to use it as a pawn in the fight against Indian independence. (The analogy of Ireland and India is often mentioned ; but one is reminded at times of Ulster, too.)

It is in truth equally misleading to regard the Congress as representing merely a large section of the Indian people. On the restricted franchise prevailing in India, it achieved an overwhelming victory in the 1937 elections and formed the government of eight out of the eleven provinces of India ; and there is no doubt that if the franchise (which rests on a property basis) were extended to poorer classes its vote would be even greater. Its claim to be the largest political party in the world is very likely justified, and it is certainly entitled to say that it represents the electors of India to a far greater extent than any party or government in Western Europe represents its electors.

In the light both of the electoral statistics and the very large membership of the Congress, and of the position which it holds in the political life of India, the British Government should recognise that Congress is entitled to be accepted as the representative of the whole Indian people, and that any terms to which it is ready to agree, so long as they contain provisions safeguarding minorities, should be treated as accepted by India.

In conclusion, it may be said that, whilst time presses, and the negotiations in India, with the enemy at the gates, may move slowly, with hopes of success now waxing and now waning, and with every moment calling for the exercise of public opinion to drive the Government along the right path and protect it from its own reactionary elements, there are certainly to-day more hopes of a real settlement of the Indian problem than there have been. And it is encouraging to look at the prospects and see what a tremendous prize there is to be gained, both negatively and positively, from such a settlement. Something like one-sixth of the human race will have taken the first step towards building its own free and independent national life, and will be able to look forward to a tremendous development in every field of activity, on the basis of increasing industrial and agricultural activity and a rising standard of living which will have no parallel except in the prototype of such developments, the Soviet Union. And the first result, in spite of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

technical difficulties, will be that a successful resistance can now be offered both to Japanese arms and to Japanese propaganda.

Looked at more narrowly, our own interests will be equally well served. One of the most effective weapons of anti-British propaganda will be gone; neither in the U.S.A., nor in such neutral countries as still exist, nor in the underground movement in Germany, nor anywhere else, will it any longer be possible to assert that every claim or assertion we make about fighting for freedom and democracy is turned into a hollow mockery by our (normally Imperialist) treatment of India. Few even of the politically conscious among us realise for how long, and to how great an extent, the name India has been used almost all over the globe to blacken the fame of Britain.

For ourselves, too, we shall have taken a long step forward. Our standard of living will no longer be a parasitic growth on the poverty and misery of our Indian brothers; we shall have gone some way towards ridding ourselves of the reproach of being accomplices in a cruel exploitation—and incidentally, with the blossoming of a new India (among other things "a better customer") and the immense increase in our own productivity that will come from the inevitable economic changes, our standard of living will not in fact suffer any setback, but will on the contrary soon increase rapidly, in spite of the "loss" of India. We shall not only be honest; we shall be no poorer even in money for our honesty!

And it is not fanciful, but just sober realism, to foresee a peaceful alliance in Asia of the countless millions of India, China and the U.S.S.R. striding forward to build a world of tranquillity and progress, material and cultural, in which all the other peoples and nations in Asia, including the Japanese, freed of their Fascist government, can take their share.

The Problem of Labour Unity

by DAN CHATER, M.P.

Last month we printed an important article from Alderman Luke Hogan, leader of the Labour Party in the Liverpool City Council, on the problem of Labour Unity.

In this article he showed the importance of "working-class unity as a necessary contribution to the war" and urged that the old decisions against collaboration of Labour Party and Communist Party should now be revised.

Below we print a contribution from Mr. Dan Chater, M.P., on the points of view raised by Alderman Hogan's article. Further contributions are invited.

YOU ask me for my views upon Alderman Hogan's letter published in your March issue.

While, to me, he does not appear to arrive at any definite conclusion, he does voice a feeling of confusion and uneasiness which to-day is running right through the ranks of the working classes. For this the present war situation is mainly responsible. The cheerful, confident optimism that somehow Britain would muddle through to ultimate victory has been replaced by a grave anxiety due to the chain of reverses suffered by the Allies with the exception of Russia. Concurrent with this anxiety as to our own position there is a strong hope, and no small measure of confidence, that Russia will defeat Germany. There is also a vivid realisation of the suffering that has been saved the people of this country because of the brilliant military achievements of the Red Armies.

Two pictures present themselves. Capitalist Britain on the defensive and retreat, losing mighty chunks of her Empire, and Socialist Russia on the offensive and now driving the foe from her soil, after a defence which Germany failed to smash.

Russia, a Socialist country, governed by and defended by workers, stands before us as the fortress of human freedom.

It is natural that our own workers should search for an explanation of this violent contrast. In the process of the search is born the revelation that the much maligned Bolsheviks are quite human men and women, and that the ownership and control of their country has not made them inefficient either in the arts of peace or military science. As a

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consequence many misconceptions and much bigoted prejudice have been swept away and, looking upon the two pictures, our own workers are beginning to question whether the capitalist governing class in this country is efficient in either peace or war, or whether in relation to the changing world it is already decadent.

Alderman Hogan's two main points are the waging of *total* war and securing for the workers generally the fruits of victory in the post-war years. I share his lack of confidence that the capitalist parties will achieve either of those purposes. I say nothing here about the fruits of victory. That can wait until we see its form taking more definite shape. *Total* war is more urgent, and that will not assume definite shape until equality of sacrifice and of effort is assured from the whole population.

While Alderman Hogan does not put the point bluntly, I think that from what he says it may be justifiably inferred that when he speaks of working-class unity what he has in mind is the removal of the antagonism which exists between the Labour and Communist Parties. He evidently feels that this should be ended. To him, in common with an increasing percentage of the workers, it may seem strange that a Socialist Labour Party can, for the purposes of the war, submerge its antagonism to the two capitalist parties, but cannot compose its differences with a Socialist Communist Party.

No one doubts the necessity of working-class unity. It will not be achieved by raking up past history, but it may be possible through a mutual and frank recognition that changed conditions call for a change in outlook. I will venture to put one consideration of vital importance.

Russia is now our ally, Russia is governed by Communists, and if Russia defeats Germany we may expect a total allied victory. Then will arise the problem of organising the peace. It is difficult to imagine the establishment of a future world security from war without her active assistance. That will entail discussion, negotiation and agreement with Russia.

In a hundred ways Russia would have to be consulted and her collaboration sought in relation to the world conditions which are to obtain after the war. It may be that we shall have to rely mainly upon her influence to mould those conditions as far as possible in accordance with Socialist principles. It will be a Gilbertian situation to have to lean so heavily upon a Communist government for some approximation to the kind of new world we Socialists want to see, and at the same time outlaw the Communist Party in our own country.

It may well be that post-war conditions will be such that the workers must either swiftly solve the problem of Labour unity or be defeated and cheated of the kind of "new world" they desire. Could the problem of unity be solved now the risk of defeat might be averted.

Publications Received

Dialectical and Historical Materialism by J. V. Stalin (Lawrence & Wishart, 6*d*, 32 pp.).
Revolt (and other poems) by A. R. P. Hickley (A. R. P. Hickley, 6d).
Besides Churchill—Who ? by Capt. Cunningham Reid (W. H. Allen, 2*s*6*d*, 127 pp.).
Passed as Censored by Macdonald Hastings (Geo. Harrap, 8*s*6*d*, 160 pp.).
Shelter by Jane Nicholson (Geo. Harrap, 7*s*6*d*, 184 pp.).
Spurs on the Boot by Thos. B. Morgan (Geo. Harrap, 9*s*, 255 pp.).
Shall Our Children Live or Die ? by V. Gollancz (Victor Gollancz, 2*s*6*d*, 168 pp.).
Soviet-Finnish Campaign by W. P. and Z. Coates (Eldon Press, 6*s*, 172 pp.).
On the National Question by J. Stalin (Lawrence & Wishart, 6*d*, 32 pp.).
Guilty Germans ? by Aubrey Douglas Smith (Gollancz, 6*s*, 239 pp.).
Women in War Jobs by Labour Research Department (3*d*, 24 pp.).
The Essential Work Order by Labour Research Department (2*d*, 16 pp.).
How Russia Prepared by Maurice Edelman (Penguin, 6*d*, 127 pp.).
Green Pastures by Marc Connolly (Penguin, 6*d*, 104 pp.).
Comparative Religion by A. C. Bouquet (Penguin, 6*d*, 239 pp.).
The Chinese by Winifred Galbraith (Penguin, 6*d*, 128 pp.).
Life of Nelson by Captain A. T. Mahan (Penguin, 6*d*, 253 pp.).
The Strategy of Freedom by Harold J. Laski (Allen & Unwin, 5*s*, 123 pp.).
Russian Grammar and Self-Educator by Louis Segal (Lund Humphries, 7*s*6*d*, 230 pp.).
Beware Orthodoxy by A. Grant McGregor (W. H. Allen, 1*s*, 48 pp.).
Yellow Nazis by Stanton Hope (Hurricane Books, 6*d*, 64 pp.).
Gangsters Around Hitler by Otto Strasser (Hurricane Books, 6*d*, 63 pp.).
Karl Marx, Liebknecht, Lafargue, Engels (Lawrence & Wishart, 6*d*, 28 pp.).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soldiers' Pay and Workers' Wages

by J. R. CAMPBELL

A WORKER in James Howden & Sons received the following postcard from his mate, Jock Hill, who is in Stalag XXB in Germany :—

Dear Ginger,—Still alive and kicking. Hope this finds yourself and family in good health and SPIRITS. Thanks for visit to Drumoyne. How is the gang? Still toiling for V. I hope. Haven't heard from Jock Holborn for some time. Hope all well. Give regards to all the boys and KEEP THE PRICES UP. Will be seeing you all soon.—Jock."

(The emphasis is the writer's.)

This worker, who is a prisoner of war in Germany, hopes that his mates in his old workshop are toiling for victory, but he also hopes that they are defending the conditions to which he will return, and so from his prison camp he urges his mates to keep the piecework prices up. Unlike some other soldiers, who are misled by the talk about the good conditions of the workers as contrasted with the poor conditions of the soldiers, he realises that the defence of the standard of life of the workers in industry is a defence of the standards to which the soldiers will return. He does not want to return to the bosom of an impoverished and oppressed working class, but of a working class well organised and therefore in a position to defend its interests. It is all very well for unthinking civilians to suggest that the workers in industry should be put under army conditions, but the last place in which any thinking soldier would want to find himself would be in a workshop where such conditions prevailed. Think of a "workshop" where to answer an irritable foreman would be a "crime." Neither in war nor in peace would the average soldier care to work a 60-hours week under such conditions.

What the soldier who is observing the trend in industry might reasonably complain of is that the workers in the great majority of industries have not succeeded in fully defending their basic conditions. It is nonsense to say that the workers are doing well out of the war. In virtually every industry the workers are receiving for a normal working week less wages (in terms of purchasing power) than they did in 1939. The cost of living has gone up by 6s. 9d. in the £1. It would require an increase of £1 7s. per week on a wage of £4 to compensate the worker for the increase in the cost of living. In the key industries of engineering and shipbuilding the workers have only got increases of 13s. 6d. per week. If on the return to peace the abnormal overtime of the war years diminishes, the soldier returning to industry will find that his wage for a normal week will be worth much less than it was in 1939. He will have reason to reproach his mates for trying to bridge the gap between wages and the cost of living by overtime and Sunday work to an abnormal extent, instead of forcing up the basic rates to the level of the increased cost of living.

The worker who tries to maintain the best possible conditions during the war is rendering the soldier no disservice. On the contrary he is ensuring that the soldier returns to a less poverty-stricken world than would otherwise be the case. He is even indirectly helping the soldier with regard to his pay and allowances, for there is a connection between the standard of living of the working class in industry and the standard of living of those workers who have been conscripted into industry. If the Australian and New Zealand soldier has higher pay than the British, and the British has higher pay than the German and the Italian, this has something to do with the standard of life of the workers in the countries mentioned. It is not the superior generosity of the Australian to the British Government that accounts for the higher rates of pay. The Australian people accustomed to a higher standard of living could not be easily accustomed to soldier for any less than they are getting at the moment. If the British worker had refrained from pressing for wage increases during the war, not only would that conduct condemn the soldier to return to much worse conditions after the war, but it would most certainly have resulted in the refusal of the Government to make the concessions to the soldier that it has done in respect to pay and allowances. The movement of the civilian to defend his wage standards does not hurt the soldier. It helps him.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the adjustment of soldiers' pay to civilian wages does not take place automatically. It depends on the movement for justice for the soldier, sailor or airman from within the armed forces, and the movement of the civilian population backing it up. It must be said that because civilian support for the servicemen's demands have been weak, the pay concessions to the latter have been less than could be obtained. Take the following fact. A single girl who is emerging from an engineering training centre will receive 43s. per week, and few will regard that as anything but an extremely low wage. But a soldier's wife with two children will, if the husband allots her the whole of the 3s. 6d. he receives under the new increase, only receive 36s. 6d. It is no use for pundits to argue that in comparing a soldier's wages with an industrial worker's one has to allow for the fact that the soldier receives free lodgings, food and uniform. The married soldier is legitimately entitled to compare what is going for the upkeep of his home with what is going for the upkeep of the home of a civilian worker, and here the soldier is definitely at a disadvantage. What the serviceman is entitled to reproach the organised workers about is not that they have striven to keep their own wages up, but that they have not striven sufficiently to see that the pay and allowances of the service men fully keep pace with those of the workers. Better wages for the workers will create the opportunity for higher pay for the soldiers, but the opportunity must be seized by the organised workers' movement if the goal is to be achieved.

The Government itself, in fixing the minimum wage for women trainees at 43s. per week, has completely justified the minimum of £2 per week for a soldier's wife. It now admits that 8s. 6d. a week is necessary for the first child. It is difficult to justify the keeping of the third child at 5s. Surely a Government in wartime should not penalise large families. There should be corresponding increases for other dependants.

The Labour movement must get active on this question and show its living interest in the soldiers' pay and allowances. The workers and the servicemen are closer linked together in this war than ever before. The servicemen understand that hundreds of thousands of lives can be saved if the factories do their duty. Nothing could be more likely to split the working class than the fact that the civilian section of it was not doing all in its power to see that the flow of munitions was accelerated. On the other hand, all reactionary attempts to create disunity between workers in the factory and workers in uniform would be utterly frustrated if the servicemen saw not only a solicitude on the part of the civilian worker for production, but also for the improvement of the allowances paid to wives, children and dependants generally. The servicemen want speedy victory, to return to decent conditions in the factory, and to a reasonably comfortable home. The British people can help them to get all three.

CORRECTION.

Purchasers of Labour Monthly War Pamphlet "Dialectical Materialism and Modern Science" by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S., are asked to note a typographical mistake on page 14 where it is stated $\frac{D}{DX}$ converts X^2 into $\frac{1}{2}X$. "$\frac{1}{2}$ X" should read "2X."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For a Real Ministry of Production

by LEN POWELL

THE proper marshalling of the productive forces of the country is still one of the decisive issues confronting the people of Britain. Nobody understands this better than the shop stewards. With a bitterness that eats deep, they and the workers in industry realise that every reverse suffered at the hands of the Axis powers, from the days of Dunkirk right through every campaign—in Greece, Libya and the Far East—reveals not merely weaknesses in the higher command, but a desperate lack of equipment, of tanks, guns and aeroplanes.

How could we break through the obstacles that stood in the way? That question has been before us for months past. By what means were we to overcome the complacency and deep sense of frustration which pulled the punches of the workers in industry? The highly successful National Conference of Shop Stewards held last October in the Stoll Theatre, London, formulated a policy which pointed the way forward; within it was a plan that would give strength to the workers in their efforts to break down the barriers which stand in the way of increased production; here was a yardstick by which we could measure and test the effectiveness of the Government's measures to deal with war production.*

On March 12 Mr. Churchill announced the appointment of a new Minister of Production and gave some preliminary details of the functions of the new Minister. It is a step forward on the original plan outlined in the White Paper, a plan which had hardly come off the press before it was withdrawn.

What did Mr. Churchill have to say? The new Minister will have chief responsibility for war production. His job will be to control the allocation of raw materials —though the administration will remain under the Ministry of Supply—and all matters connected with the allocation and the efficient use of labour within the field of war production; and he will also be responsible for the duties hitherto discharged by the production executive, including the settlement of production of priorities, the regional boards, and the allocation of industrial capacity, except shipyard capacity, which will still be allocated by the Admiralty.* The new Minister, said Mr. Churchill, is to have "fully effective powers, to concert and supervise the activities of the production departments, including the adjustment of existing problems and the initiation of future policy."

The broad outlines of the functions of the new Minister of Production fall short of what is required. In its memorandum, sent to the Select Committee on National Expenditure, the Shop Stewards' Council called for a Central Planning Commission which would eliminate overlapping, delays, schedule restrictions, needlessly fine limits, red tape and competition between Government departments. It pointed out that the general organisation of production cannot yield maximum results so long as industry is subject to conflicting claims from the various competing departments of the Government, and therefore it must be brought under a unified control.

The Board of Admiralty still retains a great deal of autonomy, and on the essential question of man-power policy the Minister of Production and the Minister of Labour will "work together." There is not yet that single plan which the crisis in production demands. But there is a definite step forward and for that reason Mr. Churchill's statement is to be welcomed.

Pressed for further details, the Prime Minister urged Parliament to await a

* Since this there have been a large number of conferences throughout the country, some breaking into newly developing armament areas.

* This, by the way, is a remarkable omission in view of the needs of the present situation. Workers are not accepting Admiral Roger Keyes' wholesale attack laying the blame for the "Gneisenau" and "Scharnhorst" upon them. The present administrators are obviously not capable. Complaints have been made of inspection methods that hold up production; officers who cause walls of cabins to be stripped and repainted their favourite colour; shower roses to be altered a matter of a few inches in height; tradesmen standing about because of bad planning, etc.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

further statement by Mr. Lyttelton, the new Minister of Production, who, but for an indisposition, would have been present to outline in more detail his plans.

How will Mr. Lyttelton tackle the job? Will he take the decisive measures necessary to meet the urgency of the situation? These are questions we must ask now. And we cannot wait long for an answer.

Shop stewards and workers in the armament factories and shipyards put forward a number of main aims, and fulfilment of these will be the simple test by which we shall judge Mr. Lyttelton's plan of action. These points must be kept firmly to the forefront. They are: (1) Effective State control of war industry; (2) central planning and unified control; (3) maximum decentralisation in execution; (4) independence of the controls from financially interested parties; (5) labour participation in the controls, at the centre and in the localities; (6) wages and conditions of work designed to secure maximum productive efficiency; and (7) equality of sacrifice where sacrifices have to be made.

The new Minister of Production will have to break down the existing monopoly structure in industry and the attitude of restriction that goes with it. The big business commodity controllers will have to be removed and their places filled by capable men free from a financial interest in the commodities which come under their control. There must be a real State control over the main industries, especially coal mining, transport, and iron and steel. Mr. Lyttelton's attitude, for example, to the plan of the Miners' Federation for national co-ordination of the coal industry will be an indication of a desire or otherwise to overcome the main obstacles to full production.

Most important of all is the need to speed up measures to bring the workers and their organisations into the fullest participation in the production controls. Wherever joint production committees have been established in factories, there has been a remarkable increase in production, and these committees should become the rule for all important establishments in industry. That is the way to release the energy and creative ability of Britain's industrial workers. Their skill should not be restricted to the factories, but they should be called in to help in the regional organisations, where the obstructions and bottlenecks are frequently experienced.

Due to the campaign and the results already achieved Joint Production Committees are becoming officially recognised. Already an agreement has been reached between the Government and the Unions for such committees in the Ordnance factories. Whilst the constitution is not yet known, press reports indicate that such is, generally speaking, fairly good. There are now discussions taking place for similar agreements in Government aircraft factories and general engineering.

All these measures will need to be taken speedily. There must be an end to the delays in dealing with the proper organisation of production. The way forward to victory is clear: give the workers a chance to show their mettle. That is what we ask, Mr. Lyttelton.

The Middle East and the Anti-Hitler Front

by I. RENNAP

"IF we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and the Gulf we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt, the Suez Canal and the whole coast of North Africa and West Africa."

This significant passage from Mr. Roosevelt's speech made last February reveals how important the Middle East is becoming as a supply base to the U.S.S.R., as well as to the British forces in that area.

For some time past an American Mission under General Wheeler has been working in Iraq and Iran to "speed up the supply of war weapons to the Soviet and British Forces in the regions north and west of the Persian Gulf," for which purpose "an organisation involving four American contractors, several million dollars' worth of equipment and over 5,000 technicians has been established" (*Times*, February 19).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roads and railways are being constructed; buildings have been erected in which plants have been installed to assemble (for the Soviet Union and the Middle East Allied Armies) aircraft, motor vehicles and barges. New docks and pipelines are being constructed, while existing harbours in the Persian Gulf are being enlarged.

The Americans are working closely with similar Soviet and British Missions. Soviet engineers and technicians are working on an important section of the railway line which stretches from Teheran northwards to Banda Shah on the Caspian Sea, as well as developing the ports on the Caspian. The British Mission has set up a Transportation Directorate in Teheran to develop existing roads and communications to link the Iranian with the Russian railway system. This is absorbing a great deal of local labour. On the Zahedan Meshed road alone "10,000 labourers are now engaged under the direction of Teheran contractors" (*Times*, February 20). Where goods cannot be transported by rail, road transport is being organised by the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, which has chartered a fleet of nearly 1,000 lorries. The closest co-operation exists between the British and Soviet staffs.

Supplies of jute, rubber, tin and shellac, as well as manufactured goods, are also being sent through this route to the Soviet Union. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, "the organisation . . . both for the shipping and for the handling of war supplies for Russia is steadily growing" (March 3).

The Middle East's growing importance as a supply base is clear. With the Nazis massing troops and material in North Africa and along the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Japanese now threatening from the Pacific the entrance to the Indian Ocean, the Middle East may well come within the orbit of Hitler's long heralded spring offensive. Hence the importance of one of the lessons of Malaya, Singapore, and now Java, with its vast population of 40 millions, namely, *that if this important supply base is to be effectively defended against Axis aggression, then its peoples must be won over wholeheartedly for the anti-Fascist cause.*

Singapore (and Malaya), according to *The Times* correspondent, fell quickly because, among other reasons, its government had no roots among the people.

> The bulk of the population were apathetic spectators of a conflict which they felt did not concern them (February 18).

And of Java *The Times* correspondent said :—

> The tragedy of Java is simply a continuation of the tragedy of Malaya. . . . The same factors were operative in Java that had been operative in Malaya. . . . In both the people of the country where the war was being fought did not regard the conflict as being personally their own (March 10).

Hence the recent political developments in the Middle East and their effects on its peoples have an important bearing on the need for strengthening this Allied base.

The recent Anglo-Soviet-Iranian Treaty, guaranteeing Iran's territorial integrity and independence in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter, was a blow at the aims of Nazi Imperialism in the Middle East. By protecting Iran against Axis aggression, and by expanding its industry and trade, thereby strengthening the country's economy, this Treaty has brought the Iranian people into the anti-Fascist alliance, despite the activity of Axis agents and a small native pro-Fascist minority. The large vote this Treaty received in the Majless (National Assembly) reflects its popular support among the people.

Furthermore, the coming to power in Egypt of the Wafdist (Nationalist) Government with British support reflects Britain's necessity, in view of the Axis menace, to seek co-operation with the progressive anti-Fascist forces in Egypt. This is a big blow at Axis activity in one of the most strategic parts of the Middle East. Here Axis propaganda had attempted to exploit Egypt's economic difficulties to work up feeling against Britain and her allies. The inability of the late Hussein Sirry Government to handle in a positive fashion Egypt's internal problems gave the pro-Fascist elements within the Palace clique around King Farouk their opportunity. Egypt was still saddled with a substantial portion of her 1940–41 cotton crop, whilst no real efforts were made by the Government last year to restrict the cotton acreage and increase the area sown for wheat production. Thus the country this season was faced yet again with a large cotton crop, the bulk of which has

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

yet to be exported, and a considerable shortage of wheat and maize and other essential foodstuffs, such as sugar and meat (*Times*, November 7). The cost of living rose "more than 60 per cent. above the pre-war level" (*Manchester Guardian*, January 7). Although having no sound economic policy, this Government had, nevertheless, taken a number of anti-Axis measures. It had broken off relations with Italy, Hungary, Rumania and Japan, although it had not declared war on these countries. Furthermore, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber had recommended the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.

Hussein Sirry's break with Vichy was seized by Farouk as a pretext to oust the Government (which represented the Egyptian upper classes and had no real popular support) and to attempt to replace it with "men more amenable to direct interference from the throne and . . . more open to the influence of those powers whose hand can already be traced in his (Farouk's) own policy" (*Manchester Guardian*, February 5).

In this he failed. Unable to form another coalition Government Farouk had no option but to ask the Wafdist leader, Nahas Pasha, to form a Government. Nahas, however, categorically refused to form a coalition Government because this, he declared,

> would have given a quite disproportionate representation to elements which in fact represented an inconsiderable fraction of public opinion and would, therefore, not have been a true reflection of the will of the country (*Daily Telegraph*, February 17).

Thus Farouk was compelled to allow Nahas to form a wholly Wafdist Government which has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the Egyptian people. The new Premier has affirmed his loyalty to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 which recognises Egypt's independence and territorial integrity, but declared also that he would tolerate no interference in Egypt's internal affairs. The British Government has been compelled to accept this and also give the warmest support to the Wafdist Government. World events have made Whitehall recognise that the best defence of Egypt and Suez, the gateway to the Middle East and India, means co-operation with a Government that has wide popular support and, as Nahas affirmed, is "definitely ranged in the democratic camp and under no circumstances could align herself with the Totalitarian States."

As the *Times* remarked in an editorial :

> The return of Nahas Pasha to power on a wave of popular support guarantees the better defence of Egypt (March 4).

The new Egyptian Premier has already begun to tackle some of Egypt's internal problems. Within three weeks of assuming office he "promised the Provincial governors support in suppressing agitators against Britain" and has "decreed that workers for the Government should have their wages increased—in most cases by 100 per cent." (*News Chronicle*, February 26) ; whilst a minimum wage for agricultural and casual labour has also been fixed (*Times*, March 4). The close co-operation between the British and Egyptian Governments as full allies has borne its first fruits. Large quantities of British wheat have been sent to Egypt to relieve the acute shortage. This is of the utmost importance, for Nahas Pasha declared that in Egypt "the wheat problem was more important than any of the political issues facing the country" (*Daily Telegraph*, March 3). Not only is this a blow at the Axis agents who would certainly have exploited this acute issue to undermine support for the Government ; it is also a blow at those elements within Egypt's upper classes who, mainly because of the Wafd's economic policy, refuse to co-operate and are already attempting to embarrass the Government by boycotting the General Elections which are to be held on March 24.

Thus the victory of Egypt's progressive forces has made an enormous contribution towards strengthening the Middle East as a bastion against Fascist aggression. It has already had favourable repercussions. In Iran the Government was sharply criticised in the Majless for "slowness in introducing the reforms when the regime was changed," as well as for its "economic policy" and for the "maintenance (in the Government: I.R.) of men closely identified with the old regime" (*Daily Telegraph*, February 26). The dismissal of a number of ministers would not satisfy the Deputies, and the Government was forced to resign. Clearly

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the entry of Soviet and British troops into Iran, as well as the economic development that has gone on since then, has not only removed a danger to the Allies and opened up a supply route to the Soviet Union; it has also begun a new awakening of the people which expressed itself in the overthrow of the pro-Fascist Shah, Rezah Pahlevi; whilst the recent Government resignation indicates that Iran's upper classes, under the impact of world events, are realising that to-day the Majless is no longer the old impotent "Reichstag" of Shah Rezah's day.

The declaration some months ago by Britain and the Free French of the independent Syrian and Lebanon Republics are also important steps towards winning the Middle East peoples for Hitler's defeat.

Clearly, the recent political developments in the Middle East have contributed enormously towards strengthening the progressive peoples' movements and bringing them into the anti-Fascist struggle. But there are still formidable obstacles. Pro-Fascist influence is still strong in the Arab world. The Fascists are tireless in their propaganda, using such Arab quislings as the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and Rashid Ali to arouse opposition against the Allies. Moreover, there still exists an element which, although anti-Axis, is still definitely anti-British and anti-French. The *Times* Middle East correspondent reports :—

> The fact must be faced that . . . in all the Eastern Arab countries recognition of the disastrous consequences which would follow a British defeat is clouded by an emotional resentment against Britain and still more against France, little distinction being drawn for this purpose between Vichy and the Free French (February 4).

Here, among these elements, lies the danger of finding, in the event of Fascist aggression, many "apathetic spectators of a conflict which . . . did not concern them," who, with the pro-Fascist Arabs, would be a menace to the Allies. Hence, alongside the political measures already indicated, the national Governments in the Middle East need immediately to embark upon social reforms to raise the economic level of their peoples. This has already begun (the distribution of land to the peasantry in Iran; the wage increases in Egypt); but it must be accelerated. *In this our Government must give them every assistance.* To the extent that these Middle East Governments are assisted by us to solve their economic problems (particularly the food problem which has been so acute in Egypt, Syria and the other Arab countries, due to a very bad harvest and war conditions) and to develop their industries and trade —to that extent the ground is strengthened for the Middle East peoples to be won as firm and active adherents to the anti-Fascist cause. It would undermine Fascist infiltration; it would help to eliminate prospective "apathetic spectators," thus helping to make the Middle East a real bastion against Fascist penetration.

The Emir Abdullah of Transjordan has summarised this point very clearly. He said :—

> If the Arabs in Irak and Syria were more satisfied they would be less willing to listen to Nazi propaganda, and Allied prestige would be strengthened (*Evening Standard*, March 12).

This is the great lesson which Java, Malaya and the once "impregnable" Far East bastion, Singapore, has for the Middle East. This lesson applies even more so to India, where the decisive significance of national freedom for the fight against Fascism is most sharply demonstrated. By the spring these vast territories with their hundreds of millions of peoples may be threatened by a gigantic German–Japanese pincer drive from both ends of the Asiatic continent. The progressive forces in this country must see that our Government learns this lesson quickly because time is short. Once learned and applied, it would transform the whole situation in the East.

GUIDE FOR DISCUSSION of *Labour Monthly*
with analytic summary of principal contents is issued to interested individuals isolated from normal political opportunities. Specimen copy 3d. Annual Subscription 3s.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Liquidation of the Small Business Man

by L. MORGAN

IT is an axiom of Marxism, developed by Lenin, that the spadework of the Social Revolution is done by the ruling class itself, which involuntarily conduces to its own self-immolation by the inevitable direction of its own economic policy. It involves one of the contradictions of capitalism which Lenin analysed in *Imperialism*. The uncanny prescience of an original mind, working some eighty years ago on the bases of scientific Socialism, is nowhere more startling in its revelations than in the present unhappy position of the small man in business in this country. The "one-man business" is a term which is generally used to represent a business with five or less assistants, but the implications of the social changes which are taking place involve ultimately businesses of much greater scope, the smaller wholesalers and even the small productive manufacturer.

A memorandum has just been published by a committee of the House of Commons entitled "The Impact of the War upon Retail Business other than Food." This paper is the result of the enquiries of this committee over a period of some months and, together with its findings, is included a minority addendum of some Labour M.P. members of the committee. *The general conclusion of the committee is that the small business man is facing extinction as the war is prolonged, and that at this moment the process is well advanced.*

Glasgow is one of the areas which comes in for intensive examination, and it is pointed out that Glasgow is by no means an area which has suffered abnormally by the war. Rather the reverse. However, the fact is that by the end of 1941, 25 per cent. of retail businesses other than food in that city have been forced to close down, and that tendency has quickly accelerated in the last two months of the year. It can be taken that this is typical of most areas in the British Isles, with the exception of the reception areas where abnormal conditions prevail. The figures for evacuation areas like London, Dover, Hull, etc., are of necessity much higher.

This position has been concealed to some extent by the accumulation of heavy stocks by retailers in the pre-quota, pre-coupon period which have enabled them to carry on over the last twelve months. These stocks are now almost completely exhausted. Under Government control they cannot be adequately replenished, and the coming twelve months will see these shops faced with the full impact of the Government rationing schemes. When it is realised that these involve reductions in some cases to 25 per cent. and in others to 9 per cent. of 1939 figures, it can readily be understood that the small trader faces an impossible situation.

Minute as these quotas are, it does not follow that the small trader is able to get them, for there is no obligation on the part of the wholesaler to distribute them *pro rata*. Many of them, with a view to goodwill after the war, do indeed try to do so, but in practice it is easier to distribute in bulk to the larger concerns and to those firms in the larger wholesale distributing areas which are on the spot.

It is impossible to increase prices on goods to make up for reduced turnover, as maximum prices are controlled by Government regulations and enforced by an army of price inspectors, who can demand invoices of cost. The profit allowed on retail clothing is so small that it could only be made profitable by an extensive increase of sales, which of course is impossible and undesirable. As it stands it does not cover overhead charges. A typical example is Utility clothing. The committee computes that about 80 per cent. of retail distribution was conducted by these smaller firms before the war. In addition it must be remembered that in very few cases do Local Exemption Committees regard the staffs of such establishments as having any claims to deferment over three months. So we find that small proprietors are faced with the situation of having lost all their male staffs to the Services and, having done their best to substitute and train female labour, are now facing the prospect of losing these also, together with a vital reduction of their petrol rations for business purposes.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Their treatment when they themselves appear before an exemption tribunal is little better. They are mostly given a few months deferment to liquidate or arrange their business and so enter the Services, or work of national importance according to medical category. It was suggested in private conversation with a local Labour representative on the Business Appeal Committee that if all the shops closed down for five weeks, the public, the Government and the exemption committees might realise that these retail establishments are of more national importance than they are given credit for. He replied, "They could not do that. The Government would not allow it." Presumably the Army would be put in to run the shops. Meanwhile the small trader feels like a Fifth Columnist, liable to prosecution for the breach of one of hundreds of regulations with which he finds it impossible to be completely familiar, perhaps branded as a war profiteer by the overcharge of a copper or so on a trivial article, while he knows all the time that the "big boys" are getting away with murder, sometimes, he feels, with the indulgence of the Government.

In this connection might be quoted the case of the exploitation of the Icelandic Cod Market by private speculators who got away with over £2,500,000, according to Government calculations, before the price was controlled, since when, of course, it has practically disappeared. Or again the very happy and generous financial arrangements made by the late Sir Josiah Stamp as mutual representative of the Railways and the Government ; or the compensation to the Manchester Stock Exchange and others. Two boys are fined for juggling with eggs and breaking them —but 1,000,000 eggs are allowed to become unfit for human consumption in Liverpool warehouses, and somebody responsible will probably get a peerage. Sales of beer and tobacco appear to be up.

In addition, so far, the Government have not made any amelioration in their controls for the granting of credit terms in retail sale, not because they are averse to the use of credit of which they avail themselves to the fullest extent, but because credit is an inducement to sales, and civilian consumption must be cut, no matter who suffers in the process. The elimination of credit sales, check and club trading, will be a big hardship to a very big proportion of the working class.

The writer finds that trade unionists and the Labour Party, indeed most of the general public, with the exception of the Communist Party, are able to bear with equanimity the troubles and cares of the small trader. They feel that he has asked for what he is getting. He is unorganised. He maintains a precarious independence, where he is allowed, by working longer hours than union rules like ; in many cases he pays poor wages where he can get away with it; in politics is very conservative, and generally speaking could be dispensed with without regret. It is possible, though not certain, that retail distribution should be taken over by larger units, and this may indeed be inevitable ; but it is unquestionable that, if that is done, it should be organised, not for the benefit of the shareholders of the great multiple concerns, but for the benefit of the nation as a whole—because if the monopoly financial groups which are behind this development are allowed to implement their plans, the Co-operative movement will be the next to be attacked, if it has not been so attacked already, and the public will suffer severely once competition has been completely eliminated.

May I now make clear the purpose of this article ? The presence of this situation now is both a danger and an opportunity. The middle classes are confused, perplexed, bewildered. Feeling the effects of the war perhaps more than any other section of the community, with the exception of the dependants of the Service men, but, apart from those who are politically conscious (a small minority), unaware of the economic causes of this development, they see all they stood for, and voted for, falling about their ears. Their businesses are liquidated without compensation or compunction, their family life disintegrated by national claims upon, first their sons and now their wives and daughters—violence is everywhere in the world. In fact, their devotion to Baldwin's "Safety first" platform has brought them, indeed, everything they were threatened with, under Communism, and that by a predominantly Conservative Government.

Let us be quite clear. Those of your readers who are familiar with a little elementary mathematics will know that

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in quadratics it is possible sometimes to get an equation which cannot be solved. It cannot be resolved because it has no roots. Well *you* know, and *I* know, that the problem described above is quite incapable of resolution by the ruling classes of this country at the present time under the conditions of the present economic system, or any adaptation of that system even under war conditions. There simply is no solution to that problem known to economists, with the system of production and distribution for private profit.

We know also how the monopoly groups, for whom Hitler was the articulate mouthpiece, endeavoured to solve it temporarily in Germany. The dispossessed middle classes became the basis of the strong-arm squads of the brown-shirted S.S. battalions. The Soviet Union solved it permanently, in a manner which has enriched and strengthened the indissoluble unity of that country. A tremendous responsibility is thrown on to the shoulders of the educational side of the Communist Party.

What is it that the working classes and the middle classes fear in the brave new world we are once more promised after the war ? They fear that once the production for war is suspended (if it is suspended), they will be faced with the scrap heap for the skilled men, the Means Test and the dole. They had better fear it. If they get it, it will be because, timid and doubtful of their own strength, they have deserved it. I repeat—both Danger and Opportunity.

A.R.P. and the National Front

by R. PETERS

THE present freedom from air attack has taken most people's attention away from A.R.P. It is focused on the active measures that have to be taken to win the war—increased production, opening the second front in Europe, strengthening the Government.

How does A.R.P. fit into this scheme of things ? It is an essential part of them all. When the second front is opened, there will be determined resistance and counter-attacks—it cannot be doubted that these will include intense raids on our ports and centres of war production. Their object will be to break our lines of communication, and to smash up our production. Even before the opening of the second front there is the possibility of such raids again taking place—perhaps to interfere with our supplies to the Soviet Union, maybe to stop reinforcements going to the Middle or Far East. We must, therefore, look to our A.R.P. to enable us to keep on producing in spite of blitzes.

What are the measures which must be undertaken ? The first is the protection of factories themselves. A mass of material is available for fire prevention, fire fighting and fire watching. A large body of valuable research has been undertaken by the Research and Experiments Department of the Ministry of Home Security on how to protect buildings, plant and workers from the effects of H.E. There must be a demand for its widespread application through the Passive Air Defence Departments of all the other Ministries. This does not mean the indiscriminate building of protective walls, strengthening of buildings and construction of concrete box-type shelters. It means technical surveys and proper assessment of the value to the war effort of spending money, materials and time on protecting the most essential factories and plant.

But it is not just the damage to the factories that causes the interference with production. After blitzes workers have been kept away from the factories by their urgent family and personal needs. They have had to search for missing relatives, make claims for money to buy necessities, find new homes, evacuate their children, take their wives to rest centres, get new ration books, and attend to a host of other problems.

The sooner they can get these needs satisfied the sooner they will get back to the work-bench. It is therefore clear that *all* the Civil Defence Services are of the highest importance in maintaining production without a break.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But these protective measures are only one side of the picture. It is essential that they be kept at the peak of efficiency, but doing that must not be a means of immobilising labour, and making unnecessary demands on resources of all kinds. For example, there are huge numbers of workers still standing by in A.R.P. Depots, in Rest Centres, even in shelters. Ways must be found of letting them play their part in war production.

How are all these problems to be solved? By the active participation of the workers themselves. In some areas after raids Local Authorities have been helped tremendously in looking after the blitz victims by such organisations as Boy Scouts, Co-operative Guilds, and all sorts of other organisations—which has led the Ministry of Health, in its Circular No. 2453, to urge Local Authorities officially to make use of such help. Already many organisations play a big part in manning Citizens' Advice Bureaux, staffing Rest Centres and shelters, and so forth. But their help is not planned.

Every A.R.P. authority should plan actively in advance—it should have meetings with representatives of every kind of local organisation which should be encouraged to work out the steps necessary —in this way the help of workers, doctors, teachers, caterers, transport owners can be stimulated.

Similarly, the factory workers can help to work out the measures in their factories —their intimate knowledge of the key-points that need protection has often proved invaluable in conferences between shop stewards and management. The Civil Defence workers form a section of the people which has had too much dictation and too little voice. They, in particular, know the defects of A.R.P., and they know how they can take part in production work without impairing the efficiency of their services.

A lead in making use of the resources of the people has been given by the National A.R.P. Co-ordinating Committee. It has drawn up a comprehensive memorandum on what needs to be done in A.R.P., showing how the people can help in all its aspects, and building up a strong case for Local A.R.P. Advisory Committees. It has sent this to all Local Authorities and all Trades Councils in areas where there are more than 40,000 residents. It can be obtained by any interested person or organisation.

This lead should be strongly followed up, and these committees brought into being in all important areas. Through them A.R.P. can be made and kept ready. It is for local organisations to take the initiative in pressing for them—once they are formed, the whole position of A.R.P. can be transformed.

Documents of the Month

Stalin's Order of the Day

Full Text of Order No. 55 Issued by J. V. Stalin as People's Commissar for Defence on February 23, 1942.

COMRADES, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas!

The peoples of our country meet the 24th anniversary of the Red Army in the stern days of the patriotic war against Fascist Germany which has basely and insolently encroached upon the life and freedom of our motherland. Along a tremendous front, from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, men of the Red Army and Red Navy wage fierce battles in order to oust the German Fascist invaders from our country and safeguard the honour and independence of our motherland.

This is not the first time that the Red Army has had to defend our native land from attack by enemies. The Red Army was created 24 years ago to fight the troops of the foreign interventionist invaders who strove to dismember our country and destroy her independence. Young detachments of the Red Army, which were taking part in war for the first time, inflicted utter defeat on the German invaders at Pskov and Narva on February 23, 1918.

1918—1942

For this very reason February 23, 1918, was proclaimed the day of the birth of the Red Army. Since then the Red Army has been growing and gaining strength in the struggle against the foreign interventionists and invaders. It safeguarded our native land in battle with the German invaders in 1918 and ousted them from the Ukraine and Byelorussia. It safe-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guarded our native land in battles with foreign troops of the Entente in 1919-1921 and ousted them from our country.

The defeat of the foreign interventionist invaders in time of civil war secured for the peoples of the Soviet Union lasting peace and the possibility of peaceful constructive work. During those two decades of peaceful constructive work, Socialist industry and collective agriculture grew up in our country; science and culture flourished; the friendship of the peoples of our country grew strong.

But the Soviet people never forgot the possibility of a fresh attack on our native land. Therefore, simultaneously with the development of industry and agriculture, science and culture, the military might of the Soviet Union was also growing. Certain people who coveted foreign lands have already felt this might on their own hides. The much-advertised German Fascist army is feeling it now.

Hitler's Gigantic Blunder

Eight months ago Fascist Germany treacherously attacked our country, having crudely and vilely violated the treaty of non-aggression. The enemy expected that the Red Army would be routed after the very first blow, and would lose its ability to resist. But the enemy badly miscalculated.

He did not realise the power of the Red Army, did not realise the strength of the Soviet rear and the determination of the people of our country to win; he did not realise the unreliability of the European rear of Fascist Germany, and, lastly, he did not realise the internal weakness of Fascist Germany and her army.

In the first months of the war, as a result of the unexpectedness and suddenness of the German Fascist attack, the Red Army was forced to retreat and evacuate part of our territory. But while retreating it wore down the enemy forces and dealt them heavy blows. Neither the Red Army nor the peoples of our country doubted that this retreat was temporary, that the enemy would be checked and then defeated.

In the course of the war the Red Army accumulated fresh vital strength, was reinforced with men and equipment and received fresh reserve divisions. And the time came when the Red Army was able to pass to the offensive in the main sectors of the tremendous front.

Blow After Blow

Within a short time the Red Army dealt the German Fascist troops one blow after another at Rostov-on-Don and Tikhvin, in the Crimea and at Moscow. In violent battles near Moscow it defeated the German Fascist troops which threatened to encircle the Soviet capital. The Red Army threw the enemy back from Moscow and keeps pressing him westward. The Moscow and Tula regions have been completely freed from the German invaders, as well as dozens of towns and hundreds of villages in other regions temporarily seized by the enemy.

Now the Germans no longer possess the military advantage which they had in the first months of the war as a result of their treacherous and sudden attack. The momentum of this unexpectedness and suddenness, which constituted the reserve force of the German Fascist troops, has been fully spent.

Blitz Factor Eliminated

Thus the inequality in the conditions of the conduct of the war, created by the suddenness of the German Fascist attack, has been eliminated. Henceforward the issue of the war will not be decided by such a secondary factor as suddenness, but by constantly operating factors such as the strength of the rear, the morale of the army, the quantity and quality of divisions, the armament of the army and organisational abilities of the army commanders. One circumstance should be noted in this connection: no sooner had the German arsenal lost its weapon of suddenness than the German Army was confronted with catastrophe.

The German Fascists consider their army invincible, asserting that in an encounter, one against the other, it would undoubtedly defeat the Red Army. Now the Red Army and the German Fascist Army are waging such a war. More than that, the German Fascist Army is directly supported at the front by the troops of Italy, Rumania and Finland. The Red Army, so far, has no such support.

And what happens? The much-lauded German Army suffers defeat while the Red Army scores important successes.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Falling back westward under the powerful blows of the Red Army, the German troops sustain tremendous losses in man-power and equipment. They cling to every fold of terrain, trying to delay the day of their utter defeat.

But the enemy's efforts are in vain. Now the initiative is in our hands, and the efforts of Hitler's loose and rusty machine cannot check the onslaught of the Red Army.

The day is not distant when, by its powerful blow, the Red Army will throw the bestial enemy back from Leningrad and will clear the towns and villages of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia and Karelia. It will free the Soviet Crimea, and the Red banners will again fly victoriously over the whole of our Soviet land.

However, it would be unpardonable short-sightedness if we were to rest content with the success already achieved, believing that we had already done away with the German troops. This would be empty boasting and conceit unworthy of Soviet people. One must not forget that there are still many difficulties ahead. The enemy is suffering defeat, but he has not yet been routed, still less has he been finished off.

Nazis are still Strong

The enemy is still strong. He will exert the last remnants of his strength to attain success. And the more defeats he suffers, the more furious will he become. Therefore it is necessary that the training of reserves to reinforce the front should not be relaxed in our country for a single moment.

It is necessary that fresh army units should go to the front one after another, to forge victory over the bestial enemy. It is necessary that our industry, especially our war industry, should work with redoubled vigour. It is necessary that the front should receive every day increasing quantities of tanks, planes, guns, mine-throwers, machine-guns, rifles, automatic rifles and ammunition.

This is one of the main sources of the strength and might of the Red Army. But this is not the only source of the Red Army's strength. Its strength rests above all in the fact that it does not wage a predatory imperialist war, but a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war.

Tasks of the Red Army

The Red Army's task is to liberate our Soviet territory from the German invaders; to liberate from the Nazi yoke the residents of our towns and villages who, before the war, were free and lived like human beings, and who are now oppressed and suffer pillage, ruin and famine; and lastly, to liberate our women from disgrace and outrage to which they are subjected by the German Fascist fiends. What could be nobler and loftier than this task?

No single German soldier can say that he is waging a just war, because he cannot fail to see that he is forced to fight for the plundering and oppression of other peoples. The German soldier lacks any lofty, noble war aim which could inspire him and in which he could take pride.

Any Red Army man, on the other hand, can proudly say that he is waging a just war, a war for liberation, a war for the freedom and independence of his motherland. The Red Army pursues its noble and lofty war aim which inspires it to heroic feats.

German State Will Remain

This, properly speaking, explains why the patriotic war brings forward thousands of heroes and heroines in our country who are ready to face death for the freedom of their motherland. This is the source of the strength of the Red Army. This is also the source of the weakness of the German Fascist Army.

Sometimes the foreign press engaged in prattle to the effect that the Red Army's aim is to exterminate the German people and destroy the German State. This, of course, is a stupid lie and a senseless slander against the Red Army.

The Red Army has not and cannot have any such idiotic aims. The aim of the Red Army is to oust the German occupationists from our country and liberate Soviet soil from the German Fascist invaders. It is very likely that the war for the liberation of our Soviet land will result in the ousting or destruction of Hitler's clique. We would welcome such an outcome.

But it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German State. The experience of history shows that Hitlers come and go, whereas the German people and the German State remain.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lastly, the strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that it does not and cannot entertain racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people ; that it has been brought up in the spirit of the equality of all peoples and races, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples. The Germans' racial theory and their practice of racial hatred have brought about a situation in which all freedom-loving peoples have become the enemies of Fascist Germany.

NO HATRED FOR GERMAN PEOPLE

The theory of race equality in the Soviet Union and the practice of respect for the rights of other peoples have brought about a situation in which all freedom-loving peoples have become the friends of the Soviet Union. This is another source of the strength of the Red Army, and this is also a source of the weakness of the German Fascist Army.

Sometimes the foreign press engages in prattle that the Soviet people hate the Germans just because they are Germans, and that the Red Army exterminates the German soldiers just because they are Germans, because it hates everything German, and that therefore the Red Army does not take German soldiers prisoner. This, of course, is a similar stupid lie and senseless slander against the Red Army.

ANNIHILATION—BUT ONLY FOR INVADERS

The Red Army is free from feelings of racial hatred. It is free of such humiliating feelings because it has been brought up in the spirit of racial equality and respect for the rights of other peoples. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in our country any manifestation of racial hatred is punished by law.

Certainly the Red Army has to annihilate the German Fascist occupationists, who wish to enslave our motherland, or when the enemy soldiers, being surrounded by our troops, refuse to lay down their arms and surrender. The Red Army annihilates them not because of their German origin but because they wish to enslave our motherland. The Red Army, like the army of any other people, is entitled to annihilate, and bound to annihilate, the enslavers of its motherland, irrespective of their national origin.

Recently, German garrisons stationed in Kalinin, Klin, Sukhinichi, Andreapol and Toropets were surrounded by our troops, who offered them surrender and, in this case, promised to spare their lives. The German garrisons refused to lay down their arms and surrender. It is obvious that they had to be driven out by force and that not a few Germans were killed.

WAR IS WAR

War is war. The Red Army takes German soldiers and officers prisoner if they surrender and spares their lives. The Red Army annihilates German soldiers and officers if they refuse to lay down their arms and attempt, arms in hand, to enslave our motherland. Remember the words of our great Russian writer, Maxim Gorky : "If the enemy does not surrender he must be annihilated."

Comrades, Red Army men and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerillas ! I congratulate you on the 24th anniversary of the Red Army ! I wish you complete victory over the German Fascist invaders !

Long live the Red Army and Navy! Long live the men and women guerillas ! Long live our glorious motherland and its freedom and independence ! Long live the great Bolshevik Party leading us to victory ! Long live the invincible banner of great Lenin !

Under Lenin's banner, onward to the defeat of the German Fascist invaders !

(Signed) J. V. STALIN,
People's Commissar for Defence.

Summary of the Production Memorandum

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

THE FOLLOWING are the main points of the Memorandum :—

The Main Causes of Underproduction

Attention is called first to the absence of a central plan, or single controlling authority. The present complicated system does not fulfil this purpose. The consequent lack of control brings about the idle or under-utilised plant and labour throughout the country, the fight between departments to get priority, the failure to co-ordinate transport with production, the absence of standardisation, etc.

The Government has armed itself with powers to "control everything and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everyone." In practice, they have been used extensively in relation to the workers, hardly at all to bring compulsion on the big employers. The full power to compel unwilling employers to allow inspection of their books and costing has not been used. Coalowners have refused to consult with the Mines Department on the closing of pits. Monopolists have, in effect, been left in control of their own affairs. This leads to the restriction of production, on the fear of excess capacity after the war. Steel output is reported to be below pre-war level. Trade secrets are held back, and sectional interests lead to waste and overlapping. This method of control leaves small businesses at a disadvantage, despite the need to use all capacity.

Failure to use the skilled knowledge and suggestions of workers, the division between management and workers, has caused waste and loss of time. Alongside this is the effect of low wages and disparities of wages of wide sections of workers. Control being in the hands of those who oppose State enterprise on principle, the management of State factories often leaves much to be desired.

Proposals

To make State control effective, it is proposed that the Government take control of mining, transport and decisive aircraft, engineering, shipbuilding, iron and steel industries, to ensure a single control and plan. It should also take control of land and property which can immediately serve as suitable sites for new factories, etc.

Powers for such control already exist, and the Communist Party puts forward only such immediate wartime measures as can be agreed by all who want the maximum development of war production for the defeat of Hitlerism. *The basic question of social principle*, i.e., *all-round nationalisation, is not raised by this proposal.*

Ministry of Production

A Central Planning Commission, under the Minister of Production, should be set up and charged with preparing and operating a single plan of war production, Treasury sanction being required only for the general plan and main total allocations. The Planning Commission would require functional departments for different spheres of work and, at the same time, the present Regional Boards of the Production Executive should be developed as regional representatives of the Planning Commission, maintaining closest contact with employers and workers' organisations. In this way the haphazard system of placing contracts and the consequent scramble can be avoided.

Sub-contracting should be abolished, together with the cost-plus system, being replaced by fixed price contracts, based on independent costing.

The present practice of handing State factories to private enterprise should be reversed. Inefficient factories should be taken over, and special steps taken to secure the best talent and experience for managerial personnel, including the promotion of workers who show initiative.

Trade Unions and Planned Production

In every factory and workplace, employers should be compelled to collaborate with the trade unions and shop stewards in establishing Joint Production Committees of Management, technicians and Shop Stewards, which should have access to all plans, facts and data.

Transport, Coal and Steel

A *National Transport Board*, embracing all sections, including trade unions, would unify all inland transport control.

A *National Coal Board* should be established, on the lines of the scheme of the Miner's Federation of Great Britain.

Urgent steps need to be taken to expand steel production rapidly, requiring the reorganisation of the Iron and Steel Control, so that it is independent of the steel cartel. This would (1) implement the full utilisation of scrap ; (2) recondition idle blast furnaces and build new State blast furnaces for handling low-grade home ores.

Consumption Goods Industries and Rationing

While the production of goods for other than immediate war purposes should be kept to the essential minimum for maintaining health and efficiency, the present system does not achieve this aim. It will be necessary :—

1. To plan organisation to replace the present haphazard concentration schemes.
2. Rationing and fixed maximum prices for all goods in short supply.
3. Extended standardisation.
4. Reorganisation of distribution.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Man-power

(i) The total mobilisation of the people cannot be achieved without equality of sacrifice.

(ii) The standards of the people must be maintained to the fullest extent compatible with the war needs.

(iii) Effective measures must be taken against class discrimination in call up and allocation to the different services.

(iv) Training schemes must be intensified and multiplied.

(v) The use of skilled men in the forces needs better organisation.

Women in Production

Conditions must be provided to enable women to enter productive work and to make it attractive :—

(i) Equal pay for equal work.

(ii) Training and ensuring that women are used in accordance with their training.

(iii) Immediate large-scale establishment of nurseries, canteens and communal feeding centres.

(iv) Improved transport and shopping facilities.

(v) No class discrimination in drafting women for services and industry.

A National Wages Policy

Existing low rates of pay for wide sections of the workers plus extreme inequalities of rates operate enormously against maximum increase in production. The Communist Party recognises the need for sacrifice all round and for restricting civilian consumption. This can only be justified if there is equality of sacrifice. Wages must be raised to the level demanded by the high cost of living and the wages of low paid workers, especially women, levelled up. Other essentials are : guarantees against cutting piece rates and bonus earnings ; equal pay for equal work ; no income tax deductions on overtime earnings ; increased soldiers' and dependants' pay ; effective control of supplies and prices of all consumption goods, involving appropriate rationing.

Other Proposals

Hours should be limited according to the recommendation of the Industrial Fatigue Commission and safety, health and welfare conditions improved.

Propaganda and publicity needs to be brought closer to the worker to awaken conscious participation in the aims, achievements and problems of their factory. In this matter, it is of first-class importance to lift the ban on the *Daily Worker*, not only to remove a deep-felt grievance of the key workers, but to enable the paper to take a foremost part in rallying the workers for increased production for victory over Hitlerism.

The problem must be tackled in relation to the enormous still unused resources and man-power of the Empire. These measures are only one aspect of the production problem. The decisive role must be played by the workers intensifying their efforts in close collaboration with the managements, technicians and the Government. The Communist Party will continue to rally the workers for the maximum effort and to overcome all obstacles on the workers' side. But the speedy overcoming of disorganisation, the play of vested interests, of inequality of sacrifice, is the indispensable counterpart to make that effort effective.

Germans Call for Revolt

Appeal Issued by 57 German Writers, Politicians, Trade Unionists and Artists

RETRIBUTION IS NEAR

GRIPPED by profound alarm for the fate of the German people, for their honour and future life, for their existence as a great nation, we accuse Hitler.

To what a state has this butcher reduced our Germany. The motherland of Goethe, Schiller, Bach and Beethoven, of Hegel, Marx and Engels, a country once famous for the achievements of human genius, this Germany is now converted into a den of murderers surrounded by the hatred of the nations.

With all the vehemence of our love for the German people, and of our hatred for those who humiliate them and convert them into the tool of Hitler's black deeds, we address all German men and women, we address German youth.

Do you not see, do you not understand to what an endless abyss of shame Hitler drives you, to what appalling disaster he is dragging you ? How long will you

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shut your eyes to the merciless reality of this accursed Hitlerite war?

German men and German women, you still fail to realise what unexampled crimes are being committed on the Eastern Front, what guilt is borne by your husbands, brothers and sons who take part in them.

You do not want to believe this. But recall the letters which have contained many hints of these crimes. Recall the communiqués of the German Supreme Command which reported the ruthless summary treatment of the non-combatant population in occupied territories. Recall the rivers of blood which Hitler shed in Germany after his seizure of power; recall the people tortured to death in Dachau and Oranienburg.

We are certain that many German soldiers did not sink so low as to take part in these bestial crimes. But millions of Germans at the front and in the rear, because they lack the courage to rise against this shame, become accomplices of the crime.

We desire that on the momentous day of trial the German people will have the right to declare: "We Germans found the strength to rise against the criminals in our country. We dissociated ourselves from them by our deeds and not merely by our words, and we ourselves helped humanity to settle accounts with Hitler and his horde of murderers."

Hitler's defeat is imminent, but woe to Germany if he is defeated without the participation of our people. For the salvation of our country, every German who is not a coward, who is not Hitler's henchman or an indifferent, narrow-minded ignoramus must find the strength and courage to show an example of struggle against Hitler.

All Germans must unite in this struggle. We Germans, now beyond the borders of Nazi Germany, have the opportunity to raise our voices freely in protest against the defamation of the German name by the Nazi brutes, and thereby to serve the cause of our people. We express our profound solidarity with the great Soviet people and our infinite admiration for its heroic Red Army.

The peoples have passed an irrevocable death sentence on Hitler and the Nazi regime, but they have not yet passed sentence on Germany. The whole world is awaiting the voice of the German people. It waits for them to dissociate themselves from Hitler by their deeds. They must help to put an end to the crimes committed by the Nazi bandits. German men and women, German youth, a tremendous responsibility devolves upon our people.

Particularly great is the responsibility of the German working class, which constitutes the overwhelming majority in the country and is the people's most important force. German working people! The decisive battle, the battle for Moscow, has been lost by Hitler. His successes have come to an end. The period of defeat has arrived for this gambler and cheat.

Devastating blows are being dealt from without to the Nazi tyranny. The German people must now utter their decisive word. It is time to act. Rally your ranks in the struggle against Hitler, against the S.S. troops and the Gestapo.

Act without delay, for time presses. Merge your efforts with the sacred war of liberation waged by the peoples against Hitler. Use all possible means to undermine Hitler's war machine. Show by your deeds that the German people do not wish to die for Hitler, but to fight for the freedom, honour and dignity of Germany. Let us save Germany before it is too late.

Soldiers of the German Army, cease this criminal war. Do not obey your officers. Do not fire on Soviet workers and peasants. Create soldiers' anti-war and anti-Hitler committees in all formations and units. Come over with your weapons to the Red Army.

Working men and women of Germany, undermine and destroy Hitler's war machine by every means in your power. Refuse to pay taxes. Protest against compulsory deductions from your wages. Set up illegal factory committees to direct the struggle against war and Hitlerism, for a free Germany. Prepare for mass strikes and demonstrations.

German peasants, men and women, hide your produce from the Nazi officials. Hide your sons, brothers and husbands liable for service in the army. Claim the right to sell your agricultural produce freely. Refuse to pay war taxes.

German women, demand that your husbands, brothers and sons be immediately returned from the front and from occupied European countries. Hold up

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the departure of troop trains going to the front. Let every mother and wife instruct her son or her husband immediately to stop the war and to return home.

German young people, youths and girls, Hitler robbed you of the most precious thing in your life—youth—and threw you into labour camps. Refuse your service. Escape from the labour camps and return to your families.

Down with Hitler and his gang of butchers! Down with the Nazi regime! Long live free Germany!

Signed—Writers and artists :—

Johannes Becher, Klara Blum, Willi Bredel, Maxim Valentin, Gustav Wangenheim, Erich Weinert, Friedrich Wolf, Ernst Helde, Gregor Hog, Heinz Greif, Hugo Huppert, Alex Keil, Alfred Kurella, Bertha Lask, Lotte Lewinger, Theodor Plivier, Hans Rosenberg, Heinrich Vogler, Hedda Binner, Adam Scharrer, Willi Schaxel, Fritz Erpenbeck.

Former Members of the German Parliament :—

Martha Arendsee, Fritz Keilmann, Edwin Hoernle, Gustav Gundelach, Phillip Dengel, Ruth Jaeckel, Georg Kasspar, Willi Kerff, Fritz Loeventhal, Rudolf Lindau, Hermann Matern, Michel Niederkirchner, Wilhelm Pieck, Gustav Sobottka, Walter Ulbricht, Wilhelm Florin, Paul Schwenk, Max Stretzel.

Trade Unionists :—

Anton Ackerman, Fritz Appelt, Fritz Arndt, Paul Wendel, Irene Goertner, Karl Drel, Bernhard Koenen, Walter Keppe, Otto Lorenz, Hans Mahle, Herbert Funk, Sepp Schwab, Bruno Schramm, Richard Stahlmann, Emma Stenzer, Heinz Evert, Wilhelm Erasmus.

Book Reviews

Mother Bloor's Autobiography

We Are Many. An autobiography by Ella Reeve Bloor (Lawrence & Wishart 8s6d).

TO HAVE LIVED seventy-eight fruitful years of service and high endeavour to the cause of the working class—to embody within herself the spirit and struggle of the American masses—to reach this great age an active leading Communist—is indeed a supreme happiness.

This great privilege belongs to Mother Bloor. The story of how this grand old Socialist found her way to the working-class movement and, while bringing up a large family, participated in the heroic fights of the American working class is inspiring to read.

Follow this gallant woman, many a time with a baby in arms and toddlers at her skirts, in the picket line in strikes; come with her into the mining camps of the West, into their tragic homes; work with her in the notorious packing sheds of Chicago; hitch-hike at 63 years of age across a continent to win support for the *Daily Worker;* such an experience is to re-live with Mother Bloor half a century of American Labour's fight against brutal repression. Neither poverty, sickness, child-birth, terror nor imprisonment could deter her. She marches on through a panorama of American history—undaunted, undefeatable—the living spirit of the workers, not only in America, but throughout the whole world.

Through her the womanhood of the whole world grieved, as she stood at the mass grave of 73 children, murdered in the great strikes in Calumet and Ludlow in 1911.

When the problems of organising women into trade unions now loom so large, Mother Bloor gives us example after example how she did the job as a trade union organiser in the pioneering days. In the bitter and bloody fights for wages, for bread and the right to organise, always at the service of the workers, in the forefront of the fight was Mother Bloor. She championed the cause of the oppressed negroes, and conducted campaigns for the victims of capitalist brutality.

The chapter in her book on the Sacco-Vanzetti trial and execution is terribly moving.

Already politically before 1917 she was linked with Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The Russian Revolution inspired new ardour in this veteran, who threw herself into its defence and vindication, and joined the American Communist Party on its formation. Those who met Mother Bloor on one of her rare visits to London, when in 1937 she spoke in Shoreditch Town Hall, welcoming back some of our International Brigaders from Spain, will remember her, sturdy and staunch, strong and serene, young in mind and in body—Mother Bloor—a Communist.

This—a most objective autobiography, in which personal cares and problems seldom intrude—is a book not only for Americans; it is an epic of how one woman triumphed over all the political and social inequalities imposed upon women by capitalism; how she, devoted mother and friend, became organiser, agitator, orator and journalist, in the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

It is a beacon light to all women and a challenge to us to play our part as courageously and well as Mother Bloor.

Long may she live!

ISABEL BROWN.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Flight from Reality

The Flight from Reality by Hector Hawton (Watts 8s6d).

THE SUCCESSFUL APPLICATION of Marxist theory on the Eastern Front has stimulated popular interest in Marxism generally. That is all to the good, but of course not everything is Marxist that passes under that name. Falsifications and vulgarisations must be exposed.

The task before Marxists in the historical sciences is to solve by their method problems which bourgeois historians have failed to solve. In order to do that they must master the actual material and master their own method of interpreting it.

This book is an attempt to analyse the religion, science and philosophy of ancient Egypt, Babylonia and Greece in the light of historical materialism. The title recalls at once Christopher Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality*. For this reason, and because the problems investigated are of the same nature, one might have expected the author of the present work to build on the foundations already laid. But it appears that he has never read Caudwell.

His treatment of the material is necessarily superficial, because it is entirely second-hand. For Greek religion and philosophy he relies almost entirely on Harrison and Cornford. Two Babylonian documents are quoted, one from an article on another subject in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the other from Stanley Casson's *Progress and Catastrophe*. And this slapdash method, for which Jack Lindsay set the example in his *History of Culture*, raises doubts that the author's knowledge of Marxism may be equally superficial.

'The first principle of Historical Materialism is that men acted before they thought. *Im Anfang war die That*. They were concerned with the task of obtaining food, clothing and shelter. Religion, like art and philosophy, developed comparatively late. Early men, like animals, were realists. Then something happened to upset this simple realism. We can only suppose that in the course of the evolution of the brain the powers of imagination were discovered' (p. 5).

'Also, as civilisation became more complex, men began to worry more about their fate after death' (p. 61).

'Before there were city-states there were cities; before cities, villages; before villages, the family was the unit' (p. 127).

'Not in Egypt only, but in all nations and empires, there is to be noticed a rhythmic waxing and waning of power; at first a centripetal movement towards greater cohesion, then a centrifugal movement away from the centre' (p. 70).

The last should be sent to Mr. Amery. It might cheer him up.

GEORGE THOMSON.

Production—in Britain and U.S.S.R.

Production Front by M. Dobb (LABOUR MONTHLY 3d).

Soviet Economy and the War by M. Dobb (Routledge 3s).

AS AN ECONOMIST who concerns himself with the kind of problems in which the general public is interested, Mr. Dobb is a rare sort of person. His latest publications, which handle in a very able fashion two of the most topical subjects of the present time, are therefore particularly welcome. The pamphlet on Production—which, incidentally, is well produced in a pleasantly designed cover—is about the best discussion of the problem which has yet appeared. Covering practically the whole field in the space of 24 pages, the author describes, under eight main headings, the present obstacles to improved production in the various sectors of industry, and suggests in each case an appropriate remedy. His conclusions have now, indeed, been substantially accepted by no less an authority than the "Special Correspondent" of *The Times*. Writing on January 2 he said "Competent judges believe that it should not be difficult to obtain an increase of 40 per cent." in total output. And even on the subject of wages it is admitted in the same article that "the return to the skilled men . . . should be increased." The fact that such statements can be made by *The Times* is sufficient indication that reforms are urgently necessary. In his really excellent pamphlet, of which my only criticism is that the problem of man-power is not treated sufficiently, Mr. Dobb shows very clearly how improvements in production could be made.

THE OTHER BOOK, on *Soviet Economy*, giving a brief and very competent account of recent economic developments in Russia, should prove a popular handbook at the present time. In the preface Mr. Dobb shows how ill-informed were many previous writings on the subject, and mentions that estimates of the probable rate of development given in his earlier book, although considered much too favourable at the time, turned out, as it happened, to be not nearly favourable enough. An interesting note is also included, showing that Mr. Colin Clark made some serious mistakes in his *Critique of Russian Statistics*. One hesitates to offer any criticisms of Mr. Dobb's extremely useful book; but it is, perhaps, a little too severely factual in tone and might, for instance, have included more discussion of the different accounts given by other writers. A fuller description of the workings of the system would also have been very welcome. These things could, however, easily be remedied in the second edition which will undoubtedly be called for before long.

JOHN NICHOLS.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY DEVELOPMENT FUND

Amount received during March, 1942: £63 : 10 : 3

Another conscience pricking: our Development Fund list this month is headed by a large donation of £12 from a guarantor with whom we had lost contact for nearly one whole year. He had promised us £1 a month and has now completely redeemed his pledge and is even a month or so in hand. We know there are many more of you who, like him, have let your guarantees slide because (believe it or not!) *our office is not quite on their regular beat!* We hasten to assure all such that the Post Office functions very well at Finchley. Remember, too, that we have not got the addresses of many of our guarantors and can no longer remind them: we call on the great working-class conscience to recall their promises to them.

"Gold-dust and very precious," says one reader of LABOUR MONTHLY (paying her double price subscription)—that's why we want *your* gold-dust or its equivalent!

	£	s.	d.
D. H. Strathern ...		5	6
E. Olley		3	0
Derby D.G.		2	6
A. C. Margolis ...		1	0
Forest Gate D.G. ...		5	0
" D.G. ...		10	0
N. Minnion		5	0
Cheadle D.G. ...		10	0
Eileen Ryan ...		3	6
Worthing D.G.		5	0
Paisley D.G.		2	6
N. Kensington D.G.		5	0
Enfield West D.G. ...		3	6
Sedgley D.G. ...		9	0
Aberdeen D.G. No. 2		3	0
Arthur Addy		5	0
Richard Jude... ...		2	6
F. T. Brown		2	0
O. V. McNally ...		3	0
N. & E. Lipton ...		5	0
C. Robson		5	0
Sheldon D.G. ...		8	6
Biddulph D.G. ...		9	0
Edmonton D.G. ...		3	0
M. Thornhill... ...		7	0
E. Watson		3	0
Ruislip D.G.		6	6
Batley D.G.		3	0
Llanelly D.G. ...		3	0
Stafford D.G. ...	1	0	0
Stafford C.P.	1	0	0
J. Reading		3	6
T. Craig		5	0
J. B. Chelmsford ...		5	0
A. Wall		5	0
Royston Green ...		2	6
R. N. Millar		5	0
Hackney A.E.U. D.G.		5	0
Aberdeen D.G. ...		5	0
E. Goldsworthy ...		3	0
North Watford D.G.		2	6
Altrincham C.P. Group		4	0
Edinburgh D.G. ...		12	6
Holborn D.G. ...		7	6
Penrith D.G. ...		10	0
W. F. Laken-Smith ...		2	0
Bushey D.G.		3	6
R. Pearson		2	6
S. W. Ollis		3	0

	£	s.	d.
Edmund Hunsley ...		6	0
D. F. Lowden ...		13	0
N. Harrow D.G. ...		5	0
Maidstone D.G. ...		5	9
E. Grinstead D.G. ...		6	0
J. Middleton		7	0
R. Radcliffe		3	0
C. W. Rimmer ...		13	0
J. Morley Jacob ...	1	0	0
Y. Thompson ...		3	6
Grantham D.G. ...	1	0	0
Derby D.G.		2	6
D. Bassett		1	6
Beckenham D.G. ...		10	0
J. C. MacAlister ...		3	0
D. Mitchell		3	0
Andover D.G. ...		10	0
Gruzya Uchitiellya ...		13	0
Orpington D.G. ...		5	3
E. Thompson (Miss)		2	0
D. Black		13	0
N. E. Bell		3	0
H. A. R. D.		2	6
M. F. H.		1	0
J. Fothergill		4	6
Acton D.G.		1	0
R. F. B.	2	0	0
J. F. Shine		5	0
Learner		8	0
Socialist		13	0
J. Richards		13	0
Jane		4	0
Horsham D.G. ...		1	0
Anon., Whitchurch ...		1	0
Mrs. Geddes	1	0	0
Woodford D.G. ...		5	0
U. Tawfig		10	0
Edgware D.G. ...		5	0
Addington D.G. ...		5	0
W. H. Lee		1	3
J. R. Penistan ...		7	0
Corporal		15	0
Sanone		6	0
Worthing D.G. ...		5	0
N. Kelly		5	0
C. Nunn		3	0
F. Cattran		13	0
S. Jones		3	0
R. V. Hill		5	0

	£	s.	d.
Red Infantryman ...		10	0
A. H. Nelson... ...		5	0
M. R. Mann		10	0
E. D. McCallum ...		6	0
Q. Z.		4	0
R. L. C.		5	0
Barnstaple D.G. ...		2	6
T. W. R.	1	0	0
R. G. B.	3	3	0
J. Tucker		3	6
E. H. Canswick ...		4	0
J. Ruddick		4	0
A. Watson		9	0
F. Hargreaves ...		4	0
S. Hammond... ...		4	0
Gunner R.A.		3	6
M. Fielding		4	0
H. George		4	0
L. Dennis		1	0
E. S. Heal		4	6
D. MacKenzie ...		4	0
K. J.		12	0
Socialist Sailor ...	2	10	0
R. R., N.W.3 ...	1	0	0
M. J. Carritt	1	0	0
A. R. M.		5	0
N. & E. Lipton ...		5	0
E. D. C. O. Group ...		5	0
Birkenhead D.G. ...		5	0
Holborn D.G. ...		4	0
Tylerstown D.G. ...		5	0
M. W. Errock ...		3	0
Ivor	1	0	0
Northallerton D.G. ...		3	6
Anon., Fareham ...		5	0
C. Green	1	0	0
H. W. Carver ...		5	0
D. Dickins		3	6
M. Christopher ...		2	6
L'Humanite		2	0
A. S. Bacon		5	0
Brentwood D.G. ...		10	0
S. Morrissy		3	0
C. Robson		5	0
"Ph.D."		2	6
Hornchurch D.G. ...		10	0
	£63	10	3

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LANDMARKS IN THE LIFE OF STALIN

by Yaroslavsky

This authoritative biography by Yaroslavsky, close collaborator with Stalin over many years of revolutionary struggle, fulfils a long-standing need. The author covers the background and events of sixty years in the life of Stalin, up to 1939.

192 pp. **5**s. **0**d. net

The Balkans Fight for Freedom — E. JAMIESON 1/6

LAWRENCE & WISHART, 2, Southampton Place, W.C.1

PRITT'S

new pamphlet

REVOLT IN EUROPE

An examination of the developing forces throughout Europe which are the volcano 'ready to erupt and bury the Hitler adventurists' . . . . . 40 pages

LABOUR MONTHLY WAR PAMPHLET 6d
from the Publisher (1d. postage) or thro' your newsagent

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Evans, Spencer & Co. Ltd., London, E.C.4.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED